ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE. — Tome LV, fasc. 2

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TOME LV

(DEUXIÈME FASCICULE)



LE CAIRE
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
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GOD'S FATHERS
AND THE ROLE THEY PLAYED
IN THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

BY

LABIB HABACHI

To the Memory of
Professor Vladimir Golénischeff (1857-1948)
on the Occasion of his Centenary
This Study is Dedicated

In the spring of his fruitful life, Professor Golénischeff discovered in Papyrus No. 1116 B of Leningrad the prophetic sayings attributed to Neferti and supposed to have been delivered to King Snefru concerning the First Intermediate Period which ended with the rise of the XIIth Dynasty[1]. In this Papyrus the Egyptian sage laments the great disaster which would befall Egypt during that period and welcomes the salvation of the country with the rule of King Amenemḥēt I, founder of the XIIth Dynasty, saying « *Up, my heart, and bewail this land whence thou art sprung...... The earth is fallen into misery for the sake of yon food of the Beduins who pervade the country. For foes are in the East, and the Asiatics shall (?) descend into Egypt.* » He ends his prediction by saying : « *There is a king who*

[1] When still less than twenty years old, he was charged with the study of this papyrus and others. He made a report on it in *Ä. Z.* 14 (1876), p. 107, *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), p. 88. Later he published it with other papyri in his important book « *Les Papyrus hiératiques N°s 1115, 1116, 1116 A et 1116 B, de l'Ermitage Imperial à, St. Pétersbourg* », see pls. XXXIII-XXXV and pp. 6 ff, where he gives an analysis of the contents of this papyrus. The latest translation and commentary is by Lefebvre in *Romans et contes égyp. de l'époque pharaonique* (1949), pp. 91 ff; for the references to the papyrus, see pp. 95 f. The translation of the part he quoted is according to Gardiner, « *New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt* » in *J.E.A.*, 1 (1914), pp. 100 ff

shall come from the south, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman [1], *a child of Chen-Khen...... There shall be built the 'wall of the Prince' so as not to allow the Asiatics to go down into Egypt....... He will rejoice who shall behold and who shall serve the king.*»

In the last ten years I have come across a few monuments which deal with some distinguished persons who bore the title «the god's father» and who played quite an important role in this rather obscure period of Egyptian history with which the prophecy of Neferti is concerned.

As is well known, our knowledge about that period is quite limited and somewhat confused, and any information to be gained about it is very important. I am publishing these monuments on the occasion of the centenary of my one-time teacher, Professor V. Golénischeff, to whom Egyptology in general owed a great deal and to whom the first Egyptian students of Egyptology in particular are indebted for their knowledge of the ancient language.

Almost nothing is known about the VIIth Dynasty, and Menetho, who is one of the few sources of information about it, says that the number of its kings was seventy and that they reigned for seventy days. It is very difficult to believe such a statement, and Hayes may be right in saying of the VIIth Dynasty that «if it existed at all, probably represents an emergency regime, set up at Memphis to replace temporarily the kingship which had disappeared with the collapse of the last ruling family of the Old Kingdom» [2]. But it may be asked whether these seventy kings were not the nomarchs who lived at the end of the VIth Dynasty and perhaps survived for that interval of seventy days attributed to the VIIth Dynasty. It is known that the kings of the end of the VIth Dynasty were quite weak and that the nomarchs were then kinglets in their centres. It would not be strange, therefore, that Manetho considered

(1) More correctly «a woman from the name of the *To-sti*» or the first nome of Upper Egypt as has been shown by Posener, *BiOr*, 8 (1951), 172.

(2) *The Scepter of Egypt, Part I* (1953), 136, see also p. 134. For other references, see Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*³, 214, 228. According to Stock, *Die erste Zwichenzeit Aegyptens* (1949), pp. 28 ff, the VIIth Dynasty was composed of the successors of Pepi II, who reigned for 20-30 years.

them as forming the VIIth Dynasty. It is somewhat likely that two generations of these were taken as living and reigning at that period. By the XIIth Dynasty Egypt was divided into 38 nomes [1], but by the end of the VIth there may have been only 35.

With the next dynasty, we are on more solid ground, thanks to monuments left by its kings and their subjects. From the VIIIth Dynasty we have the tombs of a few of its kings at Saqqarah, stelae carved by private persons discovered in various parts of Egypt and royal decrees found at Coptos assuring the maintenance of certain local foundations of kings and queens of the dynasty and those of members of a powerful family residing in Coptos.

According to Manetho the kings of this dynasty resided in Memphis as did those of the previous one. But Sethe, depending on the facts that, apart from the royal decrees, not much bearing the names of kings of the dynasty had been discovered away from Coptos, that the names of two of these kings contain that of Min, the main divinity of Coptos, and that, as a result of local tradition, the names of the kings of this dynasty are found in the Abydos list of kings, believed that they were originally from Upper Egypt and that they resided in Coptos [2]. Hayes, on the other hand, rejected these arguments believing that the kings of the dynasty were not powerful enough to leave monuments in many parts of Egypt, that occurrence of the name of Min in the kings' names does not necessarily mean that they were originally from Coptos, since the god was also worshipped elsewhere, and that the presence of the names of kings in the list of the Seti I temple does not prove their Upper Egyptian origin, especially since the pyramids of two of them have been found to the south of Dahshur. He adds also that, as happened in the VIth Dynasty which resided at Memphis, the decrees were delivered to Coptos by an important official of the court, which would not have been the case if the kings of that dynasty resided at Coptos [3].

(1) Lacau-Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris Ier à Karnak* (1956), pp. 220 ff and p. 251.

(2) *GGA* (1912), 718.

(3) «*Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus*» in *J. E. A.* 32 (1946), pp. 21 ff.

Stock advocated another theory when he proposed Abydos as the residence of this dynasty. He based his argument mainly on the presence of their names in the Abydos list of kings [1]. Posener opposed this theory and emphasized that lists of kings do not necessarily reflect local traditions, and that we must keep to the classical tradition pointing to Memphis as the capital of this dynasty [2].

But if Coptos was not the capital of Egypt in the VIIIth Dynasty, it was by far the most important place in Upper Egypt. Two of its nomarchs at least were appointed vizier and were related to the royal family. These were Shemay married to the eldest king's daughter Nebt, and their son Idy, who, together with other members of their family, were so powerful that royal decrees were especially addressed to them or issued in their favour. The kings of the dynasty depended mostly on the power of this family to keep control of Upper Egypt. Already at the end of the VIth Dynasty funerary foundations were established in Coptos; a policy which was followed on a larger scale during the VIIIth Dynasty [3].

On a tour of inspection which I made in Coptos in the beginning of August 1956, I passed by the small village of Nag' Kôm El-Kuffâr, about one kilometre to the south of the village Qift. In the court of the house of a certain Isran, I was shown a big block of red granite which, as I was told, was found some ten years ago. Digging in front of it on the same day with a couple of men, I found to my surprise and satisfaction that it had a cornice at the top and was polished and inscribed. Thereupon with four workmen I cleared the area in so far as the walls of the house would permit and found that the block of red granite was a false door standing on a pedestal with walls extending from both sides of it.

In the *Annales du Service* we shall give a preliminary report of this discovery which must suffice until such time as it is possible to clear the entire area. Suffice it to say here that the false door belongs to the eldest king's daughter, Nebt, the wife of Shemay and mother of Idy.

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

(3) For the decrees issued in favour of kings and queens of the VIth Dynasty, see Hayes, *Royal Decrees*, 4-5 (decrees *a-g*), for decrees issued in favour of Shemay and his family or addressed to them, see, pp. 5-6 (decrees *h-r*).

This is assured by the fact that she bears on the door the titles : « The eldest king's daughter and the sole favourite of the king», given to her in some of the decrees [1]. It is to be noted that she also bears the titles : « *The hereditary princess... the priestess of Hathor, Min, Mut and Horus (?)* ».

This false door was found in its original place on a pedestal with walls extending from both sides of it, hence it undoubtedly stands in the tomb of the princess which was thus built in Coptos and not in her original place in Memphis. Nebt was related to the royal family which resided in Memphis and most probably built its tombs there. But she was, at the same time, related to the family of the nomarchs of Coptos, and thus chose it as her burial place. It is very likely that Shemay, her husband, and Idy, her son, and other members of their family had their tombs quite near hers.

Both Shemay and Idy were given the titles : « The god's father, the beloved of the god [2]. These titles are supposed to have been given, especially in early periods, to royal or non-royal fathers, fathers-in-law or elder statesmen of the king [3]. According to our present state of knowledge Shemay was the son-in-law of one of the kings of the VIIIth Dynasty, most probably Horus 'Neterbau', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Neferkauḥor'. But he may have been at the same time the father-in-law of one of these kings [4]. Could Idy also have had the same relation to some other king? This question, as well as other problems, may be solved by the clearance of the tomb of Nebt and other tombs in Nag' Kôm El-Kuffâr [5]. As we shall show below, the title 'god's father'

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 5 (decree *g*), and 13 f. pl. III*a* (lower) and *Urk.* I, 298-299. For the other decree, see *Ibid.*, I, 302-303, where priests were assigned to the *ka*-chapels of the princess and her husband.

(2) Hayes, *Royal Decrees*, p. 17 (10) referring to decrees *o* (L.l, 5-6), *i* (L, 3), and *d* (L, 6), see also p. 19 (4).

(3) Borchardt, *Der aeg. Titel 'Vater des Gottes'*, in *Der Sachs, Ges. Wiss.*, (1905) and Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 49 (A, 127).

(4) Hayes, *Royal Decrees*, p. 19 (4).

(5) It is worthy of notice that Weill guessed some fifty years ago the presence of important remains in this village which he called Nag el-Kom, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XI (1911), 115-116.

borne by Shemay and Idy seems to have been given in the First Intermediate Period to persons who played quite an important role in the history of Egypt, especially in establishing new dynasties.

About twenty years ago, ex-king Farouk purchased from England three objects which he presented later to the Cairo Museum and which were published by my colleague Moharram Kamal. One of these objects was an anthropoid coffin dated to the Late Period, perhaps the XXXth Dynasty, the second was an offering table attributed to the Middle Kingdom, while the third was a sort of panel (?) inscribed with the name of king Nubkheperre Antef of the XVIIth Dynasty.

The second of these objects seems to be of particular importance to the subject with which we are dealing [1]. It is of red granite and measures 83 × 65 × 28 cm. As can be seen in the photograph (Pl. I, A) and facsimile (fig. 1) which we reproduce here, the front is showed like the *Ḥetep*-sign. The mat is rather broad and has on it two Ḥapi-figures, sitting at each end with their legs folded under them and each offering a *ḥes*-vase. The one on the right has before him a column of inscription reading : « Ḥapi, he gives all provisions», while in front of the other is the inscription : « Ḥapi, he gives all offerings» Above these figures is a horizontal line reading « May the king give offerings (namely), a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (vases) and clothes (to) the overseer of the treasurers, Khety, the blessed», Above the mat is the usual *t*-sign, here marked with the words « The revered Khety». On each side of this sign is a *ḥes*-vase marked with the name of the owner, then a round loaf on which there is inscribed twice round the edge « The revered Khety, the blessed».

Above these signs, but on a recessed level, there is a second horizontal line which reads : « The revered through the great god, lord of Abydos, the god's father, beloved (of the god), the revered Khety, the blessed». At last come the deep basins connected by a groove which runs through a projecting spout at a level lower than the part with the basins.

[1] *Ann. du Serv.*, XXXVIII (1938), pp. 1 ff. For the second object, see pp. 15 ff, fig. 1, and pl. III.

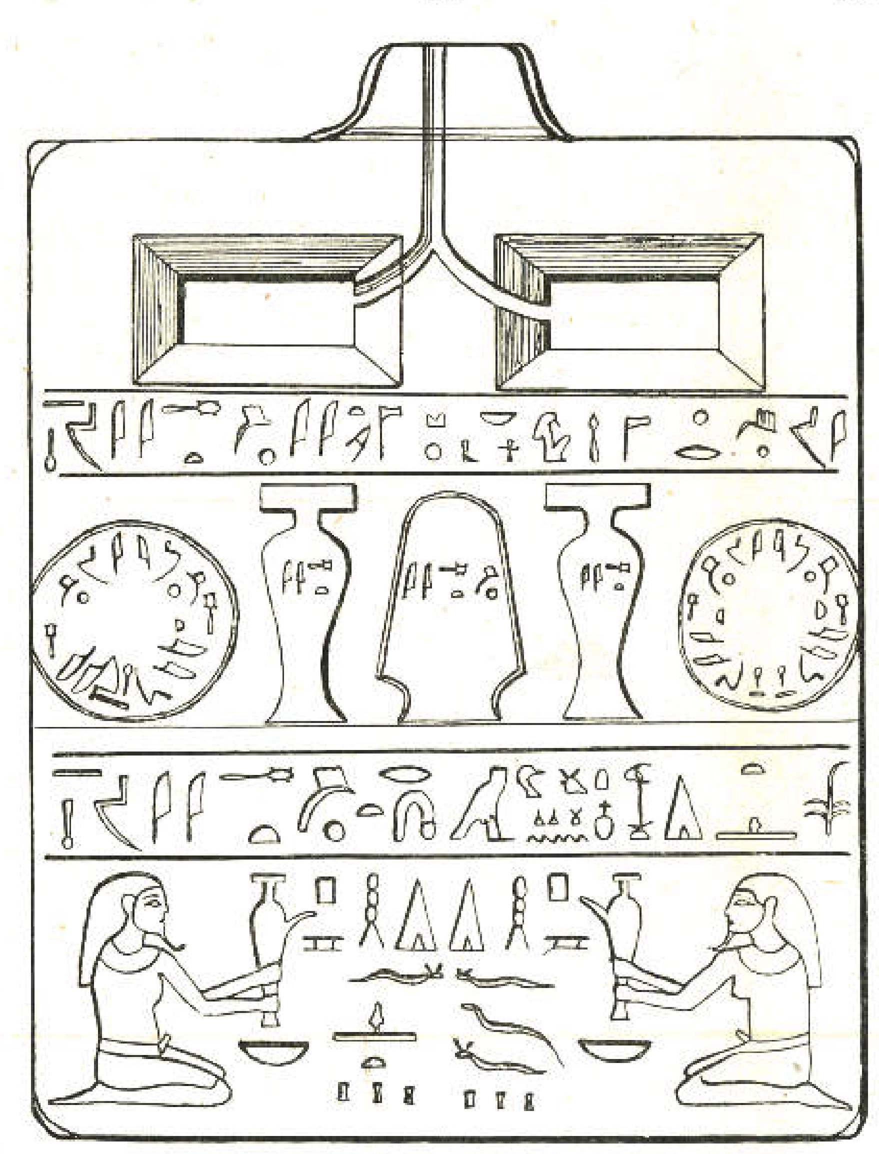


Fig. 1.

We have given a full description of this offering table to be able to discuss its date. Moharram Kamal attributed it to the Middle Kingdom [1], largely perhaps on the basis of its form and the name of the owner.

[1] *Ibid.*, 15.

Indeed it has so many points in common with similar objects of that period, since we usually have in these the *t*-sign somewhat separated from the mat and two loaves on the sides of the *t*-sign instead of the round vases [1]. But we have to point out that the representations of the *t*-sign, the vases and loaves on the sides in high relief may point rather to the XIth Dynasty or even earlier. Ah. Kamal, in his publication of the offering tables of the Cairo Museum, says in the introduction : « Sous l'Empire Memphite, les plats ou plutôt les ustensiles qu'on y voit gravés, ainsi que les objets d'offrandes quand il y en avait, sont ménagés en haut-relief, et ils se reprochent pour la forme des ustensiles actuellement en usage chez nous» [2]. Again it may be noted that the form of some of the signs, such as the *ḥ* and *ib* signs would be in place in the XIth Dynasty or even earlier. That the owner was called Khety, which was a name quite popular in the First Intermediate Period [3], and that an invocation is addressed to the 'great god, lord of Abydos' [4] seem all to point to this same period.

Such peculiarities led us to date our offering table to a period earlier than the XIth Dynasty, perhaps to the Xth or even the IXth [5]. The owner is described once as : « The overseer of treasurers», and once as « the god's father and the beloved (of the god)». In this early period the first title had some importance, but it is the title 'god's father' which interests us here. Was Khety, who bore the title, related to the royal family? That an offering table in granite of this huge size should have been made for him in the early period in which he lived, when not many offering tables were made, seems to point to his importance.

[1] Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie ég.*, II (1954), 532-533.

[2] *Tables d'offrandes* (*Cat. gén.*), p. 11.

[3] Ranke, *Personennamen*, 277 : 26.

[4] In the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, the deceased is often referred to as 'honoured through the great god', undoubtedly signifying Osiris who is sometimes referred to as 'Lord of Abydos', see offering table of Nebhopetre, Ah. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, N° 23007. Here the god is designated by the words 'great god, lord of Abydos'.

[5] Peculiarities of offering tables of the Middle Kingdom, such as those we spoke of above, began to make their appearance in the XIth Dynasty, see Vandier, *op. cit.*, II, 552.

But another feature of the table seems to show even more clearly the importance of this man. It has been seen that on the front part there is carved on each side a *Ḥapi*-figure holding a *ḥes*-vase. Moharram Kamal says of these : «The representation in relief of the two Niles on an offering-table is, so far as I know, quite unique». He compares them with the dyad offering-bearers of the so-called Hyksos monuments, which are taken to symbolise the Niles of Upper and Lower Egypt bringing the products of both parts of the country [1]. *Ḥapi*-figures are sometimes to be found on offering tables, but this is true only when they were carved for kings as in the case of the offering table of Sesostris I, No. 23001 of the Cairo Museum and that of Nebhopetre Menthuhotep, No. 23246 of the same Museum. The latter table in particular has many points in common with the one we are speaking of here. Apart from the fact that the material is the same and that in both we have the objects shown in high relief, the names of the owners are inscribed on them and *Ḥapi*-figures are shown on their fronts [2] (Pl. I, B). It seems evident then that Khety was given royal privileges and thus was most probably related to the royal family. Now since the table can be dated to the IXth or the Xth Dynasty and since Khety bore the title of god's father given to non-royal fathers of the founders of the dynasties, it may be guessed that he was the father of the founder of one of these dynasties, especially since many of the kings were given the same name. He may have been the father of the founder of the Xth Dynasty; this being nearer the XIth Dynasty where the style of our offering table would appear to be in place. In this case Khety would be the father of Mery-Hathor (?), the founder of the Xth Dynasty, the king who tried to liberate the country from the foreigners in the Delta [3]. Perhaps at that time the XIth Dynasty had begun to lay hold on Southern Upper Egypt, and as a result the kings of the Xth Dynasty directed their attention to the Delta. According to Menetho the Xth Dynasty resided in Heracleopolis as the preceeding one had, but Stock, on the basis of the fact that a sarcophagus inscribed with the name of one of its kings was found in Bersheh, tried to show

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] Ah. Kamal, *op. cit.*, pls. 1-2 and 166-167, respectively.

[3] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, p. 144

that these kings were originally from Hermopolis, opposite Bersheh, where he supposed that they were buried [1]. Posener, because of a demonstration by Lacau that the cartouche of this king was wrongly copied on the sarcophagus, perhaps from a papyrus and then corrected, was against the theory of Stock [2]. Apparently we must keep here also to the classical tradition until we can find something decisive against it.

We shall see below in speaking about the founders of the XIth and the XIIth Dynasties, who also bore the title of the god's father as did Khety, how it is almost sure that they excercised royal rights, controlling the country for some time before their sons held the kingship. This may have been the case with Khety, although it is difficult for the time being to prove it.

Among the statues or fragments of statues, about 50 in number, which were unearthed in the ruins of the Hekaib Temple at Elephantine [3], three belong to the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, of whom we have very few remains and practically no statues at all. This gives to the discovery a particular importance which is added to by the fact that the inscriptions figuring on them help us in understanding a part of the history of the dynasty. We shall give here a description of each of these statues.

Statue of an unknown King. Quartzite, head of the statue and front of the pedestal missing, the surviving part is 53 cm. high (Pl. II, A). It represents a king sitting in a jubilee attitude. He is dressed in a tightly drawn robe showing no folds and reaching to just above the knees. Thus the garment sheathes the upper part of the body, and only the hands holding the crook and the flail are revealed. The throne is cubic in form, but it has a short back and a dorsal pillar. The torso, legs and figures are rendered in very beautiful detail. There is no inscription on the surviving part of the statue, but quite probably there was a line of inscription on the missing front of the pedestal.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

[3] For the account of the discovery of the temple, see *Chronique d'Egypte*, 42, 200 ff; for its statues of kings of the Middle Kingdom, see *Revue d'Egyptologie*, 7, 188 ff; and for the career of the deified saint, see *Archaeology*, 8, 8 ff.

Statue of Wahonkh Antef. Quartzite, upper part missing, the surviving part is 37 cm. high (Pl. II, B). It shows a king sitting on a throne of cubic form without back. The king is dressed in a pleated kilt. The right hand is destroyed and the left one rests on the lap. Here again the muscles of the legs, the fingers and the toes are shown in beautiful detail.

On the top of the pedestal are two cartouches. The one beside the right foot reads : « His son the Horus 'Wahonkh', king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re 'Antef' ». The second cartouche, in front of the feet, continues the inscription in the first cartouche : « Beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine, given life like Re, forever » (fig. 2 and Pl. III, A).

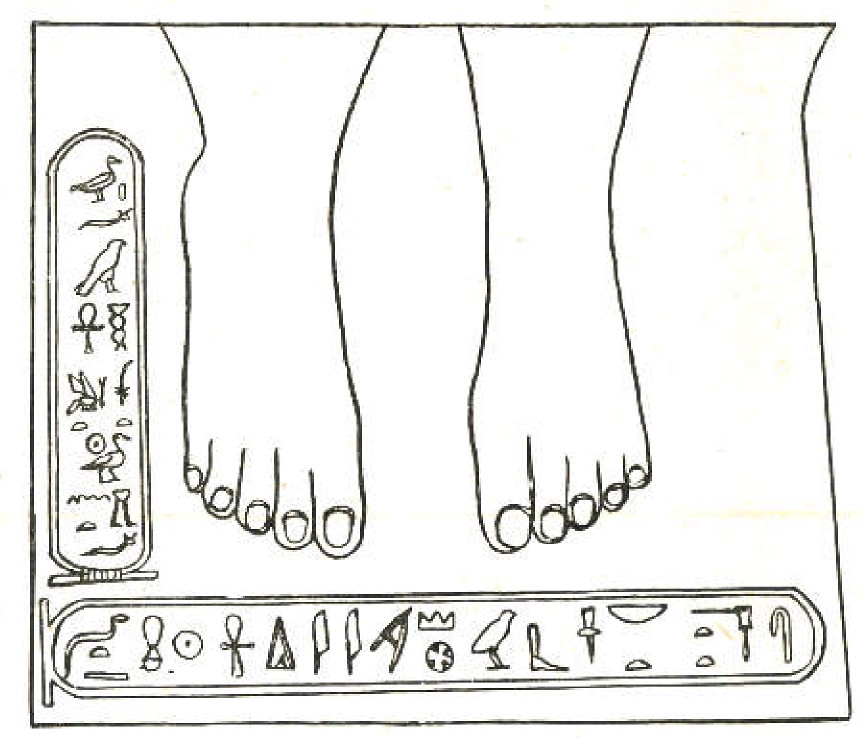


Fig. 2.

Statue of the Gods' father Menthuhotepo. Quartzite, the upper part missing, the lower part is 35 cm. high (Pl. II, C).

The owner is shown sitting and dressed in exactly the same manner of the previous statue. The left hand rests on the knee, while the right one clenches an object which looks like a handkerchief or a seal. The hands, legs and toes are quite nicely carved.

Only one cartouche is engraved on the top of the pedestal, this time beside the right foot. It reads as follows : « The gods' father Menthuhotepo, beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine» (fig. 3 and Pl. III, B).

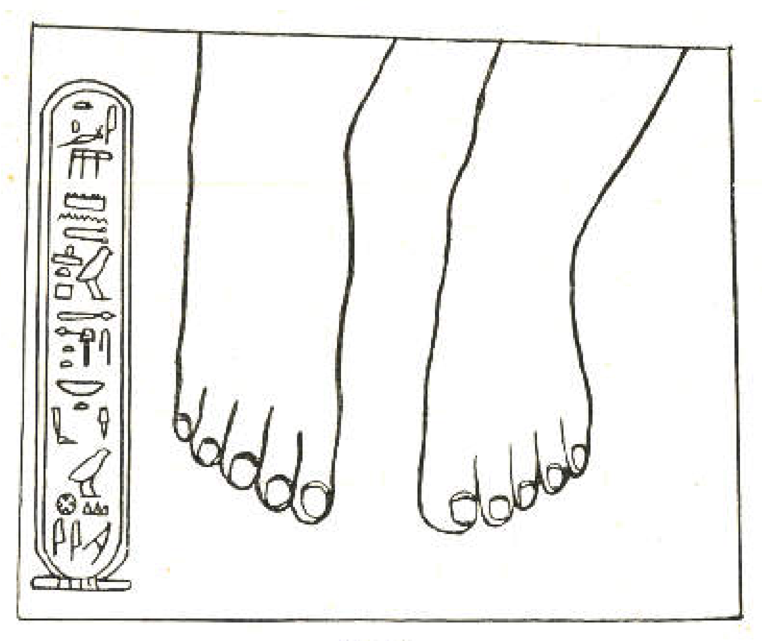


Fig. 3.

It is to be noted that the signs are very lightly incised, somewhat smaller in size than those of the previous statue, though in many places they resemble them closely in style.

There is no inscription on the first of these statues here described and it is difficult to say whom it represented. But the second statue represents king Wahonkh Antef or Antef II of the XIth Dynasty. He is here called 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine', which is quite normal for a statue found on the Island where Satis was the main divinity. Wahonkh left on a boulder near the Hakaib Temple a graffito showing

his Horus-name facing his throne name which is preceded by the usual words 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' and followed by « given life» [1].

But the Horus-name and the throne name are introduced on his statue by « his son». We have to ask ourselves to whom the 'his' refers. The three statues are made of the same material; they show quite beautiful details and are all on almost the same scale; they are shown on thrones about 27 cm. high, while the pedestal in each is 7 cm. high. The fact that these three statues were found close together in the Hekaib Temple in addition to these points which they have in common shows beyond any reasonable doubt that they were carved at the same time and by the same sculptor.

The inscription on the third statue described the owner as : « The gods' father Menthuhotepo, beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine». As has been pointed above, the title 'god's father' was given to non-royal fathers of kings but here Menthuhotepo was given the title 'father of the gods' not met with before. He must have been, therefore, the father of more than one god or king. It is known that the kings who reigned at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty were : Horus 'Sehertaui', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef I); Horus 'Wahonkh', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef II); Horus 'Nakhtnebtepnofer', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef III).

The relationship between the first two kings is not known, but the third was the son of the second one. From the Elephantine statues, we may deduce that Wahonkh, the second king, was the son of Menthuhotepo, who was the father of more than one king. His other son was undoubtedly king Sehertaui Antef whose name was revealed to us by a block found at Ṭûd [2]. Was this king represented by the third statue of which the surviving part does not bear any inscription? This statue represents a king in jubilee dress, a fact which shows that he reigned long

[1] See De Morgan..., *Cat. des mon. et inscr.*, I (1894), p. 115 (1); Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (1888), pl. XII (310).

[2] It was Vandier who detected the name of the founder of this dynasty, but it was not possible to show the relationship between him and his successors. « Un nouvel Antef de la XIe dynastie» in *B. I. F. A. O.*, XXXVI (1936), 101 ff.

enough to celebrate such a feast, but Sehertaui undoubtedly reigned for only a short time. As a matter of fact, king Wahonkh Antef was the only king at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty who reigned for any considerable time, and who is likely to have celebrated this feast. It is quite probable then that this statue also represents him. Did the king on the occasion of his jubilee order a statue to be carved for his father and two others for himself, one showing him with the usual dress and the other in the jubilee dress? This is quite probable, although sometimes a king who reigned for only a short time did celebrate his jubilee feast when 30 years had passed since the celebration of his predecessor's feast [1]. It is improbable that the first king of the XIth Dynasty would have celebrated such a feast, reckoning 30 years from its occurrence during the reign of some previous king, especially since the dynasty was preceded by an unsettled period. It is, therefore, improbable that the statue in the jubilee dress represents Sehertaui, but rather Wahonkh, his brother. There has been in the Berlin Museum a statue attributed to the First Intermediate Period. It is a statue of a king, although his name as well as the provenance of the statue are unknown. It is smaller in dimension than the statues we have described here, but it is also of quartzite and shows a sovereign in the same attitude and dress as the second and third statues. But more important in the fact that the workmanship is strikingly similar and it is very probable that it dates to the same period. It is even tempting to believe that it represents one of the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty and that it was carved in Elephantine as were the other statues [2]. From the First

[1] This happened in the reign of Nebtauire Menthuhotep, towards the end of the XIth Dynasty. Though this king reigned for two years, he celebrated in his second year his jubilee, which was 30 years after Nebhopetre in the 38th year of his reign celebrated his jubilee. See WINLOCK, *Neb-Ḥepet-Rēʿ-Mentu-Ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty*, *J. E. A.*, 26 (1940), p. 48; ID., *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, p. 55.

[2] EVERS in *Staat aus dem Stein*, publishes a front view of this statue in Vol. I, pl. I and a side view in vol. II, Fig. 33, while he studies it and compares it with other statues in Vol. II, 628-631. He dates it to a period between the end of the VIth and the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, p. 629. But nothing much was known about the latter period before the discovery of the three statues which we are publishing here and which markedly resembles the Berlin statue in workmanship. Dr. Morentz was kind enough to look up for me the latter statue on which he saw the words: «king of Upper and Lower Egypt...». Unluckily nothing can be seen in the following cartouche.

Intermediate Period no statues are known of any king except Nebhopetre and Seonkhare Menthuhotep [1] and the kings before them of the XIth Dynasty spoken of here. Kings of the VIIth-Xth Dynasties were not powerful enough to make statues especially of that high standard of art [2].

But whether the Berlin statue was carved at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty or not, it is sure, judging by the three statues of Wahonkh and his father, that the art at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty had attained a high standard. Were the artists who modelled these statues from Thebes or from Aswan? The latter town seems to have been more likely to produce the artists since granite and diorite are found only near it and there they were quarried and carved. Again it may be said that before the XIth Dynasty, Thebes was an ordinary nome with no great past, unlike Aswan where the nomarchs had great power especially during the XIth Dynasty and perhaps later.

Apart from their artistic value, the three statues we have described here have great historical importance. According to the inscriptions on them, Sehertaui Antef and his successor Wahonkh Antef must have been brothers, being the sons of the gods' father Menthuhotepo. But the name of this man is inscribed within a cartouche, a privilege reserved for kings and queens and sometimes their sons [3]. He must, therefore, have been granted some royal rights. Again it is to be noted that he is described as 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine'. On statues

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, Pls. 12 and 13, and the statue of Cairo Museum No. 42006.

[2] The Berlin statue was the only statue attributed to a king who reigned from the end of the VIth Dynasty to the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, though references to other statues are found in the Egyptian texts, cf. *Urk.* I, 304: 16-18.

[3] Of kings' sons a few had their names enclosed in cartouches, such as Amenmose, son of Amenophis I (GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois*, II, 211, and note 1), but these may have assumed some royal rights for a short time.

of commoners unearthed in the Hekaib Temple, the owner is usually styled as 'honoured by Hekaib or beloved of Hekaib' [1], the saint to whom the temple was consecrated. On their statues, the sovereigns, on the other hand, are described usually as 'beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract region' or 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine' [2], as in the case with the statue of Menthuhotepo. Thus again he was treated less as a commoner than a ruler. This leads us to believe that he assumed royal rights for some time and this seems to conform with some of the lists mentioning kings of the XIth Dynasty.

In the list of kings which originally stood in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III in Karnak and which is now in the Louvre, the king is shown four times, each time before two registers of cartouches of his predecessors. No order is followed in the arrangement of these cartouches. The kings of the XIIth for example are to be found in both registers with names of other kings interspersed. But the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty which are in the second register to the (spectator's) left seem to have been correctly arranged in the following order :

No. 12. The prince and governor, Antef, the deceased.
No. 13. Horus 'Tp(y)ʿ', 'Mentuhotepo', the deceased.
No. 14. Horus '(Se)he(rtaui)', 'An(tef)', the deceased.
No. 15. Horus '(Wahonkh)', 'Antef' the deceased.
No. 16. Horus '(Nakhtnebtepnofer)', 'Antef', the deseaced [3] (fig. 4).

Vandier accepts this order, but regards N° 13 as standing for king Horus 'Seonkhibtaui' Menthuhotep and thus places him after No. 16 [4]. But this latter king could not be called 'tep(y)ʿ' the 'ancestor'; which title could well designate our gods' father Menthuhotepo. Again Seonkhibtaui Menthuhotep seems to have been considered as an usurper and was not included in the known kings' lists.

If we now turn to the Turin Royal Papyrus, we can arrange the beginning of the XIth Dynasty in the following order :

No. 12. (Menthuhotepo).

(1) *Archaeology*, 8, 10.

(2) *Revue d'Egyptologie*, 7, 189.

(3) Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* (1847), Pl. I; *Urk.* IV, 608-610.

(4) Vandier, *B. I. F. A. O.*, XXXVI, 106 ff.

No. 13. Se(hertaui.)
No. 14. (Wahonkh) reigned for 49 years.
No. 15. (Nakhtnebtepnofer) reigned for 8 years [1].

They are followed by Nebhopetre Menthuhotep and his successor Seonkhkare Menthuhotep of the end of the dynasty. These two latter kings are the most important kings of the dynasty, and in the lists of Saqqarah [2] and Abydos [3] they are the only ones named for the dynasty.

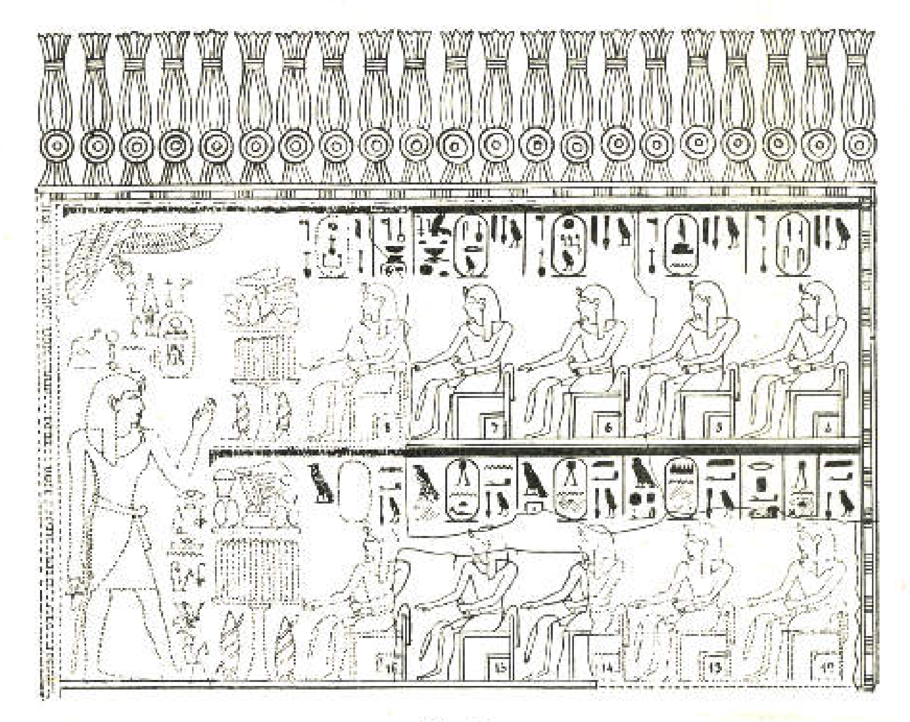


Fig. 4.

But the kings at the beginning of the dynasty whom we have enumerated here under Nos. 12-15 are not accepted by scholars as proposed here. While Farina restores them thus : No. 12 (Nekhtnebtepnofer); No. 13, Se(onkhibtaui); No. 14 (Nebtauire) No. 15 (Nebhopetre) [4], Winlock

(1) Farina, *Il papyro' dei Re*, Pl. V, p. 35.

(2) For references to this list, see Porter-Moss, *Bibliography*, III (1931), 192.

(3) *Ibid.*, VI (1939), 25, 229-230.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

thinks that the three Antefs come first to be followed by Seonkhibtaui [1]. But the order which we are proposing fits well with the number of years which the last two kings ruled. Stock gives them in the same order as we have given them here with the sole difference that No. 12 may be 'the prince and governor, Antef' or 'the ancestor Menthuhotep' [2]. We believe that it was the latter king who was mentioned there; it was he who was known to us through the Karnak list of kings and his statue at Elephantine as 'Menthuhotepo'. In the list of Karnak his name comes after that of the prince and governor, Antef. But this latter could be omitted in a list like the Turin Royal Papyrus, while Menthuhotepo, who was the father of the first two kings of the dynasty and whose name, unlike that of Antef, was inscribed inside a cartouche in the Karnak list, could not be overlooked.

In the facsimile of the Turin Papyrus made by Sir Alan Gardiner, the relevant portion of which we are reproducing here (fig. 5), Sir Alan sees in the cartouche at the beginning of this dynasty traces of the sign *ḫ'*, *w:ḥ*, but these may be rather of the *mn*-sign of the name Menthuhotepo or traces of *tp* of the epithet tp(y)' [3]. Thus it is quite possible that the name of the gods' father Menthuhotepo was included in this papyrus, and it is certain that it preceded at least two Antefs in the Karnak list. This would assure the fact which we pointed out previously that he was granted royal rights. He undoubtedly controlled Thebes and some other nomes in the neighbourhood before his son assumed the royal duties and inaugurated the prosperous days of the XIth Dynasty. That Wahonkh Antef left three statues in the Hakaib Temple is a fact which shows that he was a powerful king and that he, like other kings of the dynasty, directed great care to the region of Aswan.

(1) *J. E. A.*, 26 (1940), 119.

(2) *Op. cit.*, chronological summary opposite p. 81. For an account of all these ideas, see Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*², 278.

(3) Sir Alan spent some time studying this papyrus and the result was the making of an accurate facsimile of which a few copies were sent to certain libraries. For this part of the papyrus, see his article « The First King Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty » in *MDIK*, 14, 43. For reference to our statue, see p. 51.

In our study on « The Buildings of Amenophis I in Karnak » which we shall publish shortly, we shall show that in one of these buildings we had list of the kings, whose offerings were diverted to the divine offerings of Amenre, another list perhaps of the same kings, a third of festivals, and a fourth with names of towns which afford offerings for the festivals. It will be seen that under these lists, is an inscription of two horizontal lines, the upper part has the surviving text : ...... (de)ceased, king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Nebhopetre', the deceased, king

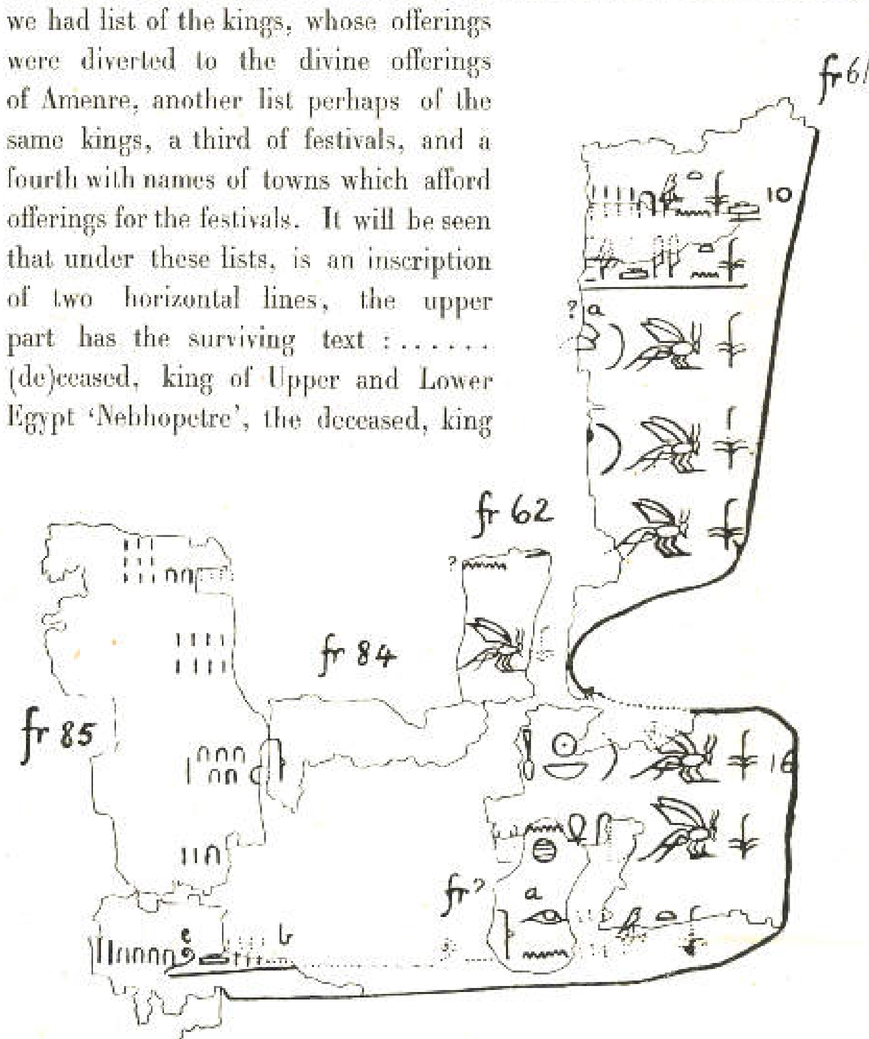


Fig. 5.

of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Seonkhkare', the deceased, the gods' father, Sesostris, the deceased (Pl. IV) [1] Winlock [2], followed by Hayes [3],

(1) This is seen on a block of this building, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XXXVIII (1938), 601.

(2) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 53-54; *Jnes*, 2.

(3) *The Scepter of Egypt*, p. 167.

believed that Sesostris was the son and heir of Seonkhkare-Menthuhotep. The former scholar proposed that he disappeared, perhaps being assassinated, before the death of his father. Stock asks whether he was related by marriage to one of the last Menthuhoteps and thus had great influence which helped Amenemḥēt I, who was perhaps his son, in lauching a new dynasty [1]. Thus Stock discredits the prophecy of Neferti to the effect that the founder of the XIIth Dynasty was not of royal blood [2]. Posener, on the other hand, finds no reason to doubt the information of the prophecy. He states that the founder must have been the son of the god's father Sesostris, who had no relation with the previous royal family [3]. Clère believes that Sesostris may have been the father of Amenemḥēt I and may have been the first to try to seize power for the new dynasty [4]. In their history of Egypt, Drioton and Vandier speak of this man as a pretender to the throne of Egypt before the rise of the XIIth Dynasty [5].

On the block the name of this man immediately follows the last legitimate king of the XIth Dynasty [6]. It cannot be determined whether the sovereigns, whose names are found in this line and are continued in the next one, are those whose offerings were diverted to Amenre or whether these kings were the deified ones who were given certain privileges so as to partake in the offerings of the gods [7]; in either case there is no doubt that the presence of the name of the god's father Sesostris among those of kings gives him a certain importance. That he may have been the son of Seonkhkare, who died before his father, would not entitle him to be included among the kings. Posener, who took him to be the father of Amenemḥēt I, referred to Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 49. In that paragraph Gardiner shows that this title was given to the non-royal fathers, fathers-in-law or elder statesmen of kings. This is a strong argument that Sesostris was rather the father of Amenemḥēt I and not the son of Seonkhkare. We can add that Sesostris as a name is not found among those of the royal family of the XIth Dynasty, but in the following dynasty; kings of that name alternated with those named Amenemhet. Again the occurrence of this Sesostris among the kings shows that he was highly honoured even in the time Amenophis I. This fact would be understandable if he was the father of the founder of the glorious XIIth Dynasty. It is to be noted that this dynasty was looked upon by later Pharaohs with great respect. There is scarcely a list which does not include all of its kings. In the Royal Papyrus of Turin the kings of the various dynasties follow each other without a word of introduction, but in the case of the XIIth Dynasty, the situation is different. There we have the introductory words « Kings of the capital *Ithet-taui* » and at the end of the list « The total of the kingship of the capital *Ithet-taui*.... » The following dynasty is introduced as « Kingship after (the successors of) king of Upper and Lower Egypt ' Seḥetepibre', il, p, h [1]. This shows that the later kings of Egypt looked upon that dynasty as one of the most flourishing in Egyptian history.

It would not be strange, therefore, that Sesostris, the father of the founder of the dynasty, should have his name inscribed among kings. But who was this Sesostris and from whence did he come? According to Neferti's prophecy, a part of which we quoted at the beginning of this study, Amenemḥēt I, designated there as Ameny, was « the son of a woman from the first nome of Upper Egypt and a child of Chen-Khen ». The latter town is not easy to locate, although it must have been in the South, meaning as it does ' interior of Hieraconpolis' or ' interior of Thebes' [2]. But the location of *To-sti* is certain. It was the first nome of

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 90, n. 1.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 171-172.

(4) « *Histoire des XIe et XIIe dynasties égyptiennes* » in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* (Janvier 1954), vol. I, 649.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

(6) After Seonkhkare, Nebtauire ascended the throne, but this latter king has been considered as an usurper, see below p. 189.

(7) It is unlikely that we have had in these two lines the names of all kings whose offerings were diverted to Amenre's cult. These were rather in the lines of the top, but the kings whose names were in the bottom lines were rather those who were given certain privileges. For deified kings, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XL (1940) 37 ff, Seonkhkare is not included, but see Petrie, *Nebesheh* in *Tanis*, II, pl. XLII, p. 45.

(1) Farina, *op. cit.*, p. 38, 39, 42.

(2) Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 197-198 and Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 171

Upper Egypt or its capital Elephantine Island. It was from this Island then, according to the Neferti prophecy, that Sesostris must have come. As a matter of fact it appears that kings of the XIIth Dynasty, the descendants of Sesostris, concerned themselves a great deal with the district of Aswan and its governors. On the entrance to his tomb at Qubbet El-Hawa, Sirenput I says : « I made my tomb by favour of king Kheperkare ......I was not allowed to lack what is required, the treasure-house was (the place) whence things were asked for me»[1], and on one of his stelae in the Hakaib Temple on Elephantine, he states : «His Majesty gave me hundreds of people from Lower Egypt»[2]. In this Temple, kings of this dynasty left some statues[3] and they helped in building parts of it. It may be added also that among the objects found in the temple there was a statue of «the chief of the district, Onkhu, son of the king's sister, Merestekh» (Pl. III, C)[4]. This statue was found inside the shrine of Sirenput I, and Onkhu must have lived in Elephantine. Thus one of the people of this Island was related to one of the members of the royal family.

It is quite probable, therefore, that Sesostris and Amenemḥēt I came from the capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt and that the information about the founder of the XIIth Dynasty in the Neferti prophecy is true. Stock thinks that Amenemḥēt I came rather from a place like Thebes or Hermopolis, where Amûn had an old cult[5]. But Amenemḥēt as a name was known before the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, even in the region of Thebes[6]. We have to add that in Aswan some of the

[1] Gardiner, in *Ä. Z.*, 45, 185 and Pl. VII.

[2] This is one of the four stelae left by this nomarch in the Hekaib Temple at Elephantine, which we hope to publish shortly.

[3] Apart from a statue of Sesostris III (*Revue d'Egyptologie*, 7, 189 : 1), there is a second statue, of which the name of the owner is destroyed. Sesostris I left a triad and Ptahnofru left a statue, see Weigall, *Ann. du Serv.*, VIII (1908), 47-48.

[4] No princess with this name is known, but to judge from the location of the statue and its style, Onkhu may have lived in the first half of the XIIth Dynasty.

[5] *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[6] Winlock, *The Rise and Fall...*, pp. 87-88.

kings of the XIth Dynasty were shown in the form of Amûn and his ithyphallic form Amen-Kamutef[1]. Sesostris, as a name, means 'the man of Usert'[2], but what Usert was is not known for certain. Could it be an epithet of the goddess Satis, mistress of Elephantine, whose name means «the huntress» and who is shown as an archer in late times?[3].

At any rate it seems that Elephantine was favoured by and related somehow to the XIIth Dynasty, while Hermopolis did not have such a connection, and we have, therefore, to believe the information in the Neferti prophecy about the origin of this dynasty. It remains now to determine the role played by Sesostris. After the reign of Seonkhkare Menthuhotep and before Amenemḥēt I ascended the throne, there intervened seven years of anarchy. Nebtauire Menthuhotep must have ruled the country at the beginning of this period with Amenemḥēt as his vizier. After the second year of his reign nothing is known about him, and it is not unlikely that he then disappeared through some accident, since he was considered to be an usurper[4]. As vizier, Amenemḥēt would have been the most powerful man at that time and his father could easily control the country. This is most probably what happened in the remaining interval of the seven years before the start of the glorious days of the XIIth Dynasty.

Sesostris as god's father, like Menthuhotepo, father of the first two kings of the XIth Dynasty and Khety who was perhaps the father of the founder of the XIth Dynasty, ruled the country for a short time before his son assumed kingship. In a discussion of the god's fathers of the First Intermediate Period and their career, we cannot omit mention of « the god's father, the beloved of the god, the son of Re, 'Antef'» who is shown before king Nebhopetre in the famous graffito of Shatb El-Rigaleh.

[1] These we shall publish in a study about king Nebhopetre Menthuhotep.

[2] Sethe, «*Der Name Sesostris*» in *Ä. Z.*, 41, 43 ff. Usually it is given to lion-headed goddesses, such as, Sekhmet, Bastet, Pacht and Tefnut, see Id., *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 29.

[3] Roeder, «*Sothis und Satis*» in *Ä. Z.*, 45, pp. 22 ff, cf. 26 (6).

[4] *J. E. A.*, 26, 118 f; *JNES*, 2, 281 ff.

Some scholars believe that he was the son of this great nomarch [1], but others take him to have been his father. The latter theory was proved to be true by Gardiner, who has shown that the person opposite the king stood for Horus 'Nakhtnebtepnofer' the son of Re 'Antef' [2]. With this Antef ends the list of the god's fathers of the First Intermediate Period who played so important a role in that rather obscure period of the history of Egypt.

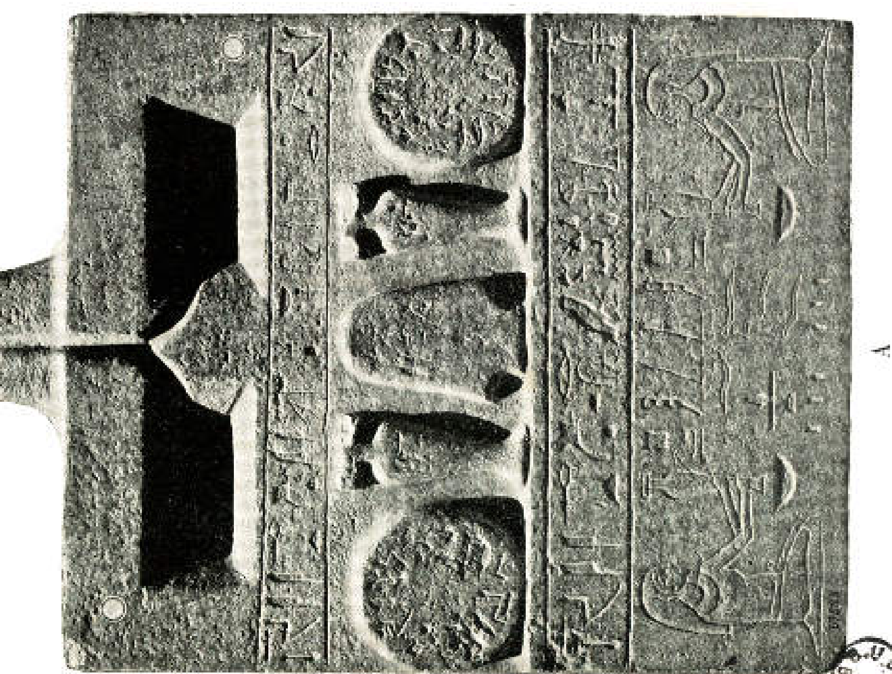
Labib Habachi.

[1] Winlock, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64; and Pls. 12 and 36. See also Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 648 and n. 18. The former scholar takes him as having been a son of this great Pharaoh, while the latter believes that he was the same as king Nakhtnebtepnofer Menthuhotep who was the father of Nebhopetre.

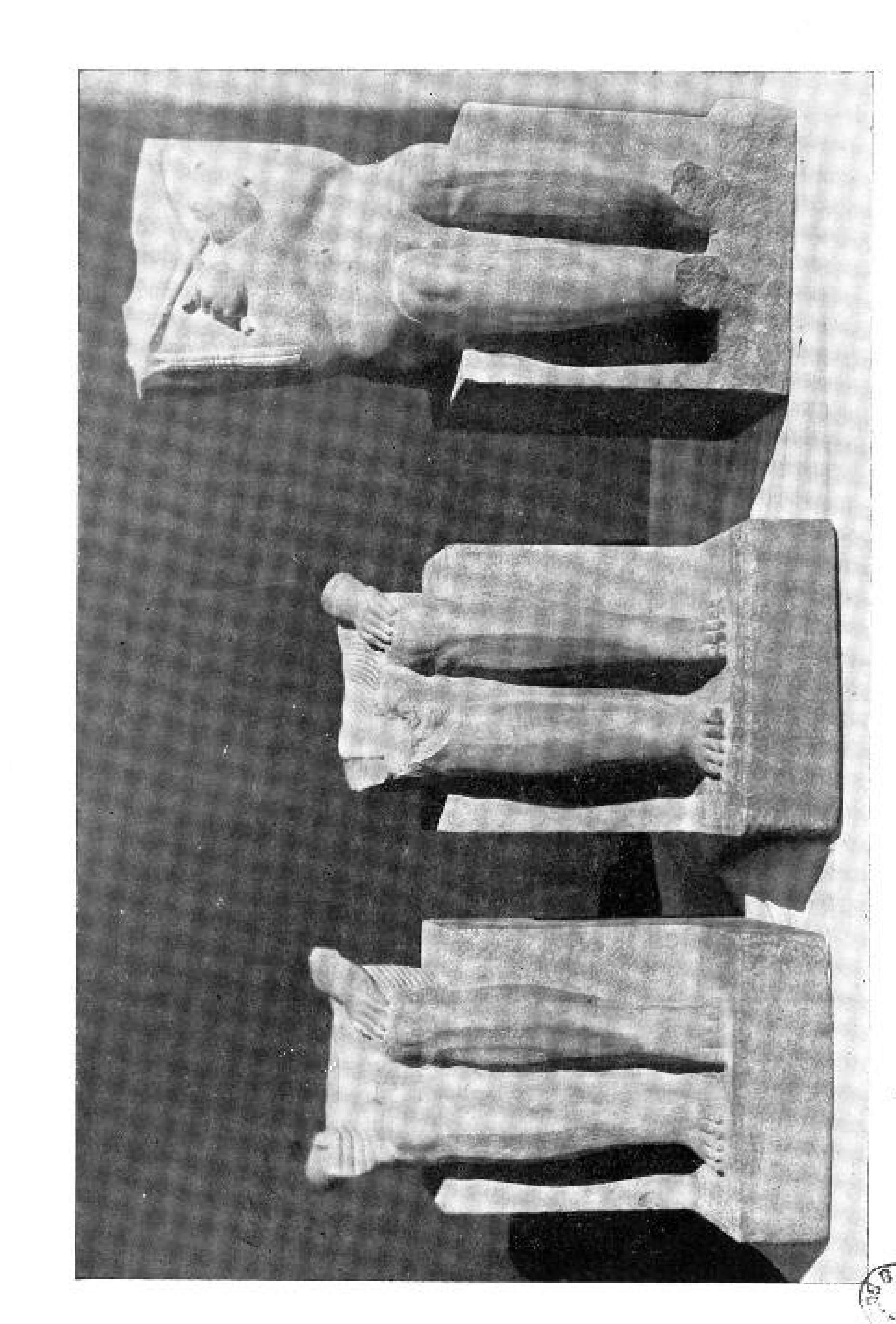
[2] In *MDIK*, 14, 45-46.



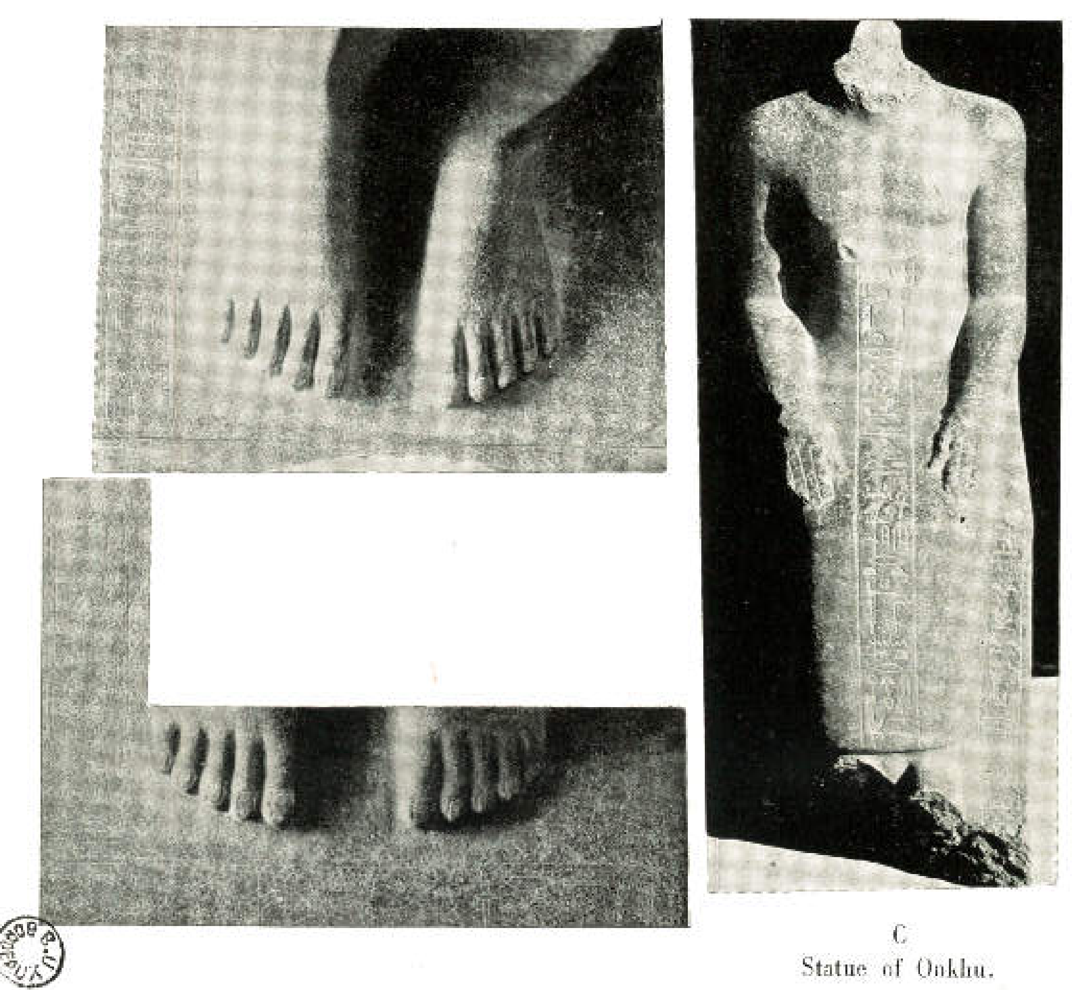
B
Offering table of Nebhopetre.



A
Offering table of Kheoty.



C Statue of Menthuhotpo. B Statue of Wahonkh Antef. A Statue of an unknown king.

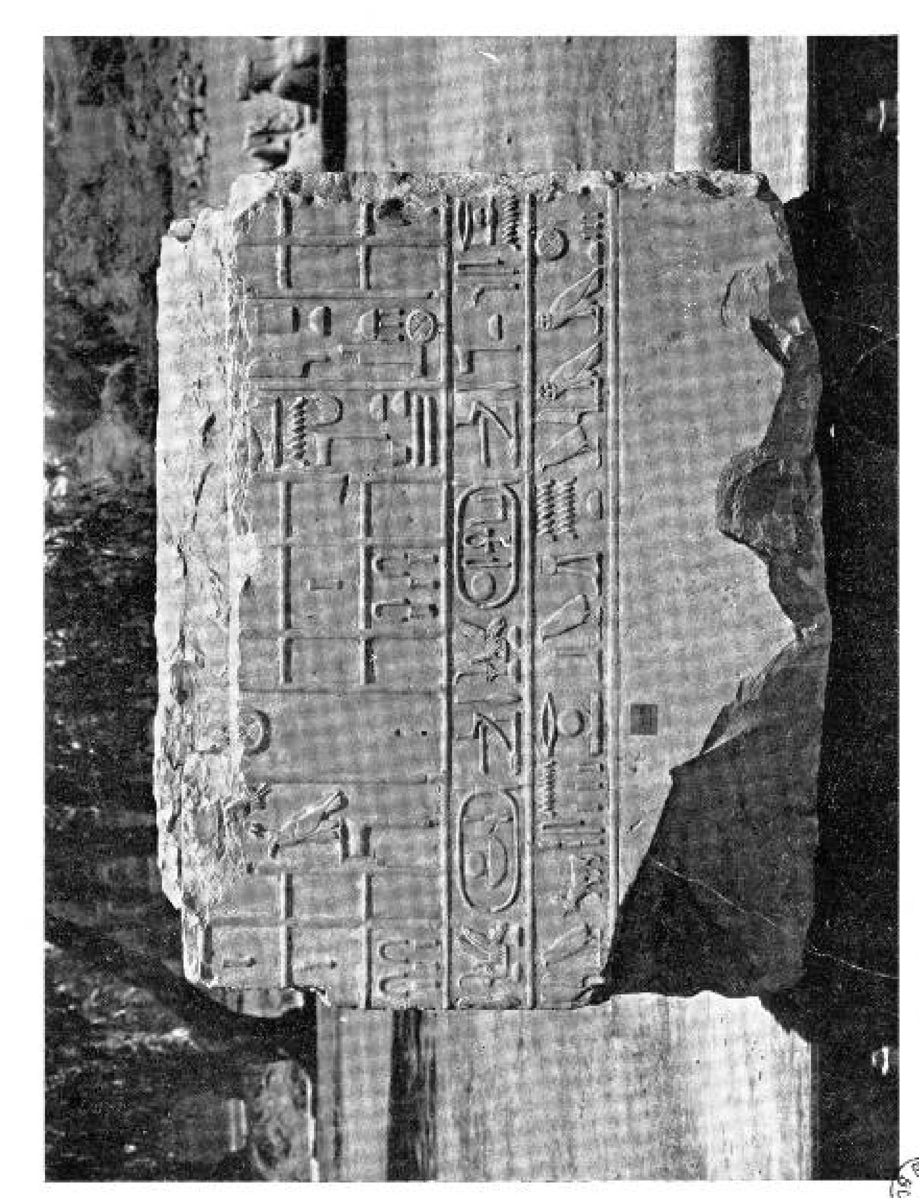


B
Inscr. of
Menthuhotpo.

A
Inscr. of Wahonkh
Antef.

C
Statue of Onkhu.

Pl. IV



Block from a Building of Amenophis I in Karnak.

CASSETTE D'UN PRÊTRE QUÊTEUR D'ASCLEPIOS-IMHOTEP (?)[1]

PAR

GEORGES MICHAÏLIDIS.

Les planches I, II, III reproduisent un coffret en bronze trouvé dans la région de Memphis. Il présente, avec son couvercle rabaissé, une forme vaguement cubique, dont la paroi antérieure mesure 9 cm. 5 de large à sa partie supérieure pour atteindre 10 cm. en son milieu et se rétrécir à nouveau de deux ou trois millimètres à sa base, ses deux côtés latéraux étant de 8 cm. 5 à droite et 8 cm. 8 à gauche. Les trois autres parois ont à peu près les mêmes dimensions quant à leur longueur, mais le coffret diminuant de hauteur à sa partie postérieure, les deux côtés latéraux n'y mesurent plus que 8 cm. à droite et 7 cm. 5 à gauche. Ce cube irrégulier repose sur quatre pieds de 1 cm. environ, déviés légèrement vers l'extérieur. Le coffret est muni d'un couvercle pivotant sur deux charnières de longueur inégale ce qui fait qu'il repose un peu de guingois sur le corps de la boîte qu'il ferme cependant complètement, car il recouvre en entier le léger étranglement ménagé au sommet des quatre parois. Sur le couvercle et à sa partie antérieure, on aperçoit une ouverture rectangulaire de 5 cm. 8 de long sur 1 cm. de large munie de lèvres légèrement proéminentes, puis un serpent dont le corps est

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[1] Cf. *Oxyrhynchus*, XI, 1381, verso du N° 1380, papyrus datant des Antonins; on y trouve des éloges du dieu Asclepios-Imhotep. Cette association de la médecine grecque et de la tradition médicale égyptienne daterait d'Homère, *Odyssée* IV, 231. A cette époque le médecin est considéré comme un homme qui vaut plusieurs autres hommes : *Iliade* XI, 514. Pour la façon dont s'effectuaient les guérisons dans le temple d'Asclépios à Épidaure voir : I. G., IV, 951; Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 142 sq.; R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros* (1931); O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909).

replié sur lui-même en forme de huit et qui ressemble au même reptile posé sur des étuis égyptiens en bronze renfermant des reliques de l'animal sacré [1]. Une anse mobile permet de soulever le couvercle sur lequel on lit entre les deux extrémités de l'anse l'inscription suivante : **ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕ**.

Un trou pratiqué au milieu du rebord antérieur du couvercle et deux autres sur la paroi correspondante du coffret laissent supposer qu'un dispositif spécial, aujourd'hui manquant, permettait de fermer cette cassette. Entre ces deux derniers trous, un peu au-dessous et au milieu de la paroi antérieure, est fixé un visage très en saillie, dépourvu de cheveux et aux traits grotesques [2]. Enfin à l'intérieur et adhérant au fond du coffret on aperçoit huit ou neuf pièces de monnaie agglomérées que l'épaisse couche d'oxydation qui les recouvre empêche d'identifier.

Au premier abord la présence de l'ouverture ménagée sur le couvercle et les pièces de monnaie à l'intérieur pourraient nous faire croire que nous avons sous les yeux une tirelire ancienne. On en connait quelques-unes découvertes au hasard des fouilles et conservées dans les musées ou les collections privées. Caylus [3] en mentionne trois, on peut en voir un certain nombre dans les musées de Naples et de Pompeï [4], etc. Mais tous ces objets sont en matière fragile, de la terre cuite en l'occurrence, et, tels que leurs analogues modernes, on ne peut en extraire le contenu qu'en les brisant.

Au contraire, le récipient que nous venons de décrire est en bronze, d'un travail soigné, fait par conséquent pour être conservé, et comprend un couvercle que l'on peut soulever ou fixer au moyen d'une serrure, d'un cadenas ou d'un autre système de fermeture [5]. Il se rangerait donc

[1] Voir Musée du Caire, salle P, armoire I.

[2] Si cette figure est un rappel de la Gorgone, il se pourrait, qu'outre son rôle d'*apotropeon*, elle ait été mise là par allusion à la légende d'Athéna donnant à Erechthonios deux gouttes du sang de Méduse; l'une guérit tout et donne la vie, l'autre est meurtrière, cf. Euripide, *Ion*, 1003 sq. L'absence de cheveux ne signifierait pas grand chose, le masque de la Gorgone ayant varié dans l'antiquité.

[3] *Recueil d'antiquités*, t. IV, p. 157 et pl. LIII, 3, 4 ; p. 157 sans planche ; p. 270 et pl. LXXXIII, 3, 4.

[4] Nicolini, *Case di Pompei* ; P. Gusman, *Pompei*, p. 245.

[5] Cf. *Catalogue de la collection Hilton Price*, 1908, N° 4668, pl. XIX, un modèle de cadenas ; *Catalogue de vente de la Collection du Dr Fouquet*, 2e partie (19 et 20 juin 1922), pl. VII, N° 204 : un coffret cubique d'art copte (?), y est-il dit, est muni d'un système de fermeture qui devait ressembler à celui du nôtre.

parmi une tout autre catégorie d'objets que les tirelires et serait destiné à un autre usage [1].

Juvénal dans le passage suivant fait allusion à un coffret transportable qu'il appelle *loculum* [2], en opposition avec l'*arca* dont on a trouvé à Pompeï des exemplaires adossés à un pilastre de l'atrium et fixés au sol par un clou traversant le fond du meuble [3] :

neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
Ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca [4].

Pétrone [5] nous parle aussi d'un coffret transportable contenant de l'argent. On désigne sous le nom d'*arcula, cista, capsa, scrinium*, etc. des récipients portatifs, ces trois derniers étant surtout de forme circulaire et contenant d'habitude des manuscrits, des onguents ou des objets de toilette. Quel qu'en soit le nom, il est clair que notre cassette était destinée à contenir de l'argent recueilli au moyen d'une quête, ainsi qu'en témoigne l'ouverture pratiquée sur le couvercle.

Le musée du Caire [6] possède un tronc provenant du temple d'Asclépios et Hygieia à Ptolémaïs et destiné à recevoir les donations des fidèles ; il est muni de deux ouvertures pour laisser passage aux pièces de monnaie [7]. Or la présence du serpent sur le couvercle de notre cassette et l'inscription **ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕ** [8] = *porte toi bien*, paraîtraient indiquer que ce

[1] Horat, *Ep.* I, 17, 54.

[2] Cf. Daremberg, Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, t. III, p. 1293, au mot « loculus ».

[3] Nicolini, *op. cit.* (description générale), pl. XXXIII ; De Longpérier, *Revue archéol.*, t. XVIII (1868), p. 171, pl. XX.

[4] Juvénal, *Sat.* I, 79-80 ; cf. XI, 38 et Jul. Valer. *Epit.* I, 36, 38.

[5] Pétrone, *Satyricon*, fin du chapitre CXL : « Unde plani autem, unde lenatores viverent, nisi aut locellos, aut sonantes aere *sacellos* pro hamis in turbam mitterent »?

[6] G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 1915, p. 223, fig. 76.

[7] Pour ces θησαυροί voir *Z. Ä. S.*, XL (1902-1903), p. 140.

[8] Cf. Ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνατῷ. Berg, *Poetæ Lyrici Graeci*^3, 1289.

récipient était destiné, aussi, à recueillir les donations adressées à un dieu guérisseur et sa découverte à Memphis nous autoriserait à identifier ce dieu à Asclépios-Imhotep particulièrement vénéré en cette région.

Mais à l'encontre du tronc conservé au musée du Caire, notre cassette est facilement transportable et aurait servi à aller au devant des fidèles pour recueillir leurs donations, au lieu de les attendre sur le parvis du temple. Nous savons, en effet, que certains prêtres avaient coutume de se déplacer au loin pour quêter les offrandes des fidèles. Cette coutume, originaire probablement de l'Orient, leur était traditionnelle et le droit d'*ἀγερμοί*[1] = *collecte d'aumônes* leur avait été officiellement reconnu[2]. Nous pouvons nous imaginer leur façon de procéder par le témoignage d'écrivains dont la malveillance a dû probablement avoir été provoquée par des quémandeurs trop insistants. Platon[3] nous les représente comme des sacrificateurs ambulants, des devins qui assiègent les portes des riches, les persuadent qu'ils ont obtenu des dieux, par certains sacrifices et enchantements, le pouvoir de leur remettre les crimes qu'ils ont pu commettre, eux ou leurs ancêtres, au moyen de jeux et de fêtes. Ils ont des secrets pour séduire ou forcer les dieux et disposer de leur pouvoir.

Dans un domaine qui touche notre sujet de plus près, le médecin hippocratique, auteur de *La maladie sacrée*[4], nous les décrit comme des mendiants dont le métier consistait à guérir, deviner l'avenir et jeter des sorts. Ils ordonnent des sacrifices, prononcent des paroles magiques, prescrivent ou interdisent certains mets, certains vêtements, prétendent par leurs pratiques secrètes faire descendre la lune, obscurcir le soleil, attirer la tempête, rasséréner le ciel, rendre la mer fertile, la terre féconde.

[1] Cf. Denis d'Halicarnasse, II, 19.

[2] Cf. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptiorum Graecorum*, Leipzig, 1898-1901, N° 666 ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἴσιος ἔθετο τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ἔννομον εἶναι ἀξιῶν τῇ θεῷ καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἀγείρειν.... N°. 601, 26 : ἐν ᾧ δὲ μηνὶ ἡ θυσία συντέλειται ἡ δημοτελὴς, ἀγειρέτω πρὸ τῆς θυσίας ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπ' οἰκίαν μὴ πορευομένη. ὁ δὲ ἀγερμὸς ἔστω τῆς ἱερείας. Cf. Plat, *Rep.*, II, 364 B et 381 D : Ἥραν ἠλλοιωμένην ὡς ἱέρειαν ἀγείρουσαν.

[3] Platon, *République*, II.

[4] Περὶ ἱερᾶς νούσου I, p. 301.

On les appelle *agyrtae*[1] en tant qu'assembleurs de foules ou collecteurs d'aumônes. Ils se répandirent dans tout le monde classique, à la suite des religions orientales[2]. D'autres, les *orphéotélestes*, se prévalant du nom vénéré d'Orphée, sillonnèrent l'Empire accompagnés d'un âne chargé de leurs ustensiles sacrés[3]; ils se distinguaient difficilement des premiers. Apulée[4] nous donne une peinture vivante de leurs processions pittoresques et bruyantes : « Le lendemain, voilà tous mes gens qui sortent du logis dans le plus hideux travestissement, chamarrés de toutes couleurs, le visage barbouillé de glaise, et le tour des yeux peints. Ils s'étaient affublés de mitres et de robes jaunes en lin ou en soie. Quelques-uns portaient des tuniques blanches, bariolées de languettes flottantes d'étoffe rouge, et serrées avec une ceinture. Tous étaient chaussés de mules jaunâtres. On me charge de porter la déesse, soigneusement enveloppée dans un voile de soie; mes gens retroussent leurs manches jusqu'à l'épaule, brandissent des coutelas et des haches, et s'élancent bondissant, vociférant au son de la flûte, qui exalte encore leurs frénétiques trépignements. La bande passe sans s'arrêter devant quelques pauvres demeures, et arrive devant la maison de campagne d'un seigneur opulent. Dès l'entrée, ils débutent par une explosion de hurlements. Puis ce sont des évolutions fanatiques, des renversements de tête, des contorsions du cou qui impriment à leur chevelure un mouvement de rotation désordonnée. Leurs dents, par intervalle, vont chercher leurs membres, et avec leurs couteaux à deux tranchants ils se font aux bras mainte incision... Enfin, ... ils firent trêve à cette boucherie et tendirent les plis de leurs robes à la monnaie de cuivre et même d'argent dont chacun s'empressa de leur faire largesse».

[1] ἀγύρται mot qui, d'après Hesychius et Suidas, tirerait son origine de *ἀγείρειν rassembler*, soit parce qu'ils rassemblaient les foules, soit parce qu'ils recueillaient des sommes d'argent en quêtant. Cf. Sophocle, *Oedipe Roi*, 388 δόλιον ἀγύρτην. Euripide, *Rhesus*, 503, 715. Dans l'Ἐτυμολογικὸν Γουδιανόν : οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἀγείροντες ἑαυτοῖς ὀνόματι δαίμονος, οἷον Ῥέας et dans Ζωναρᾶς : ἀγύρται = συρφετώδεις, ὀχλαγωγοί, χυδαῖοι, ψεῦσται, λωποδύται, ἐπαῖται φιλοκερδεῖς.

[2] Cf. F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1929.

[3] Aristophane, *Ran.*, 159 : ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια.

[4] Apulée, *Métamorphoses*, VIII, 27-28; cf. Lucien, *Asinus*, 35.

Dans l'esprit d'Apulée toute la mise en scène qu'il vient de décrire, n'avait pour but que de rendre plus fructueuse cette collecte finale; le reste n'était que simagrées et charlatanisme. Cependant, pour celui qui a pu assister en Orient à des scènes analogues encore toutes proches de nous ou qui en a lu des descriptions dans les récits de voyageurs du XIXe siècle, ces manifestations, si extravagantes qu'elles nous paraissent, n'excluent pas une réelle sincérité au fond de leur mysticisme effréné. A vrai dire, aux yeux d'un grec ou d'un latin à l'esprit logique et raisonneur, ces excès ne pouvaient être que ridicules [1]. Lucien ne traite-t-il pas d'imposteur ce Peregrinus en qui l'on peut voir cependant l'un de ces chrétiens de la première heure se sacrifiant et souffrant pour sa foi?

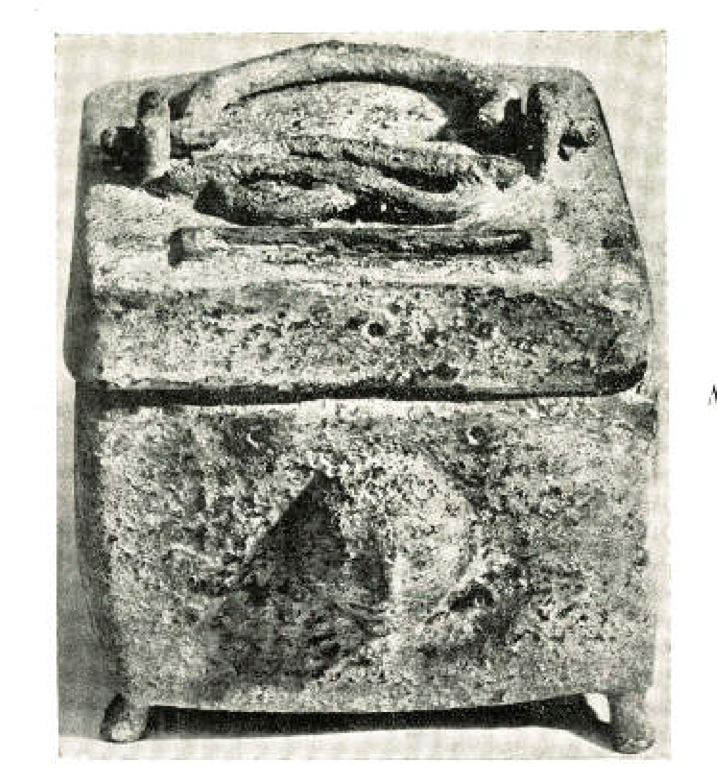
Quoi qu'il en soit, sincère ou non, le porteur de notre coffret surgit tout à coup devant nos yeux, rendu plus vivant par tous ces témoignages contemporains. Nous le voyons s'avançant seul ou accompagné, la cassette à la main, recueillant de ville en ville, de porte en porte, l'obole des fidèles et prenant peut-être conscience, petit à petit, sous la poussée de l'incompréhension et du mépris public, de la force que puiseront plus tard dans l'humilité de leur acte les pieux mendiants qui se feront un honneur de leur état, plus méritoire que celui de l'homme riche [2]

(1) En ce qui concerne la répugnance des Romains pour ces manifestations cf. DION HALIC. II, 19; CIC. *Leg.* II, 16. «Personne ne danse tant qu'il est sobre à moins qu'il ne soit fou», nous dit CICÉRON, *Pro Mur.*, 13. Pour l'opinion que l'on avait sur les guérisseurs voir : PLIN., *H. N.* XXIX, 11 et 17 sq.; MARTIAL, V, 9.

(2) Cf. SAINT THOMAS D'AQUIN, *Somme*, II, 2 (*quaest.* 66). Un homme ne devant pas s'approprier la richesse pour empêcher un autre d'y avoir quelque droit, la pauvreté serait l'état le plus élevé, et le mendiant est plus méritoire que le riche. On pourrait ajouter que la pauvreté qu'implique la mendicité de ces prêtres, nous la jugeons d'après notre mentalité actuelle : mais il a existé un genre de richesse constituée par un groupe de biens intangibles, tels que prières, formules magiques, etc. cf. RUTH BUNZEL, *Economic organization of Primitive Peoples*, pp. 333 sq., 345 sq.; J. WACH, *Sociology of Religion*, p. 211; ROBERT LOWIE, *Traité de Sociologie Primitive*, Payot, Paris, 1935, p. 255 sq., chap. sur la propriété immatérielle. Terminons enfin sur cette citation de MÉNANDRE de Leucade, recueillie par STOBÉE, *Florilegium*, tit., 96, 4. : Ἀεὶ *νομίζον δ'οἱ πένητες τῶν θεῶν.*

Si nous avons cru bon de nous étendre un peu sur ce petit monument, c'est qu'à l'intérêt que lui vaut sa rareté s'ajoute le fait qu'il appartient à cette catégorie d'objets évocateurs, grâce auxquels le passé n'est plus lettre morte.

G. MICHAÏLIDIS.



A

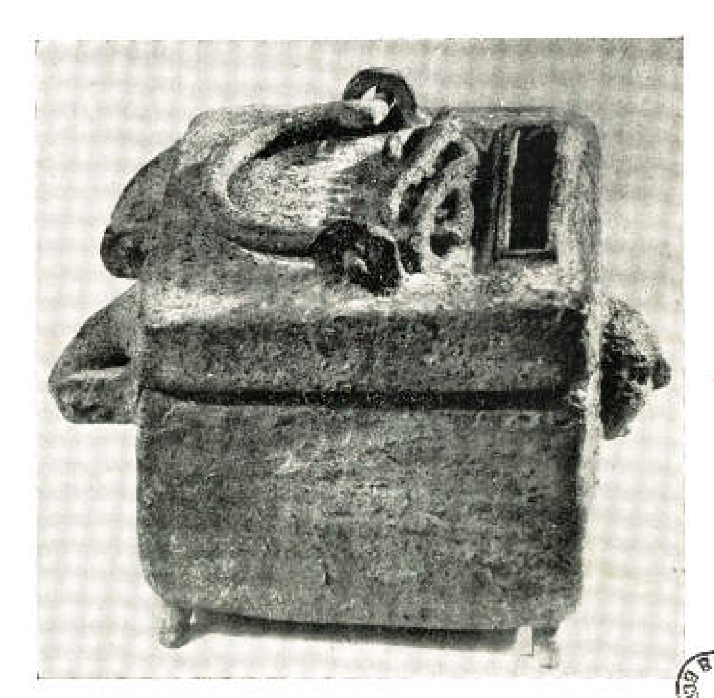


B

Pl. II

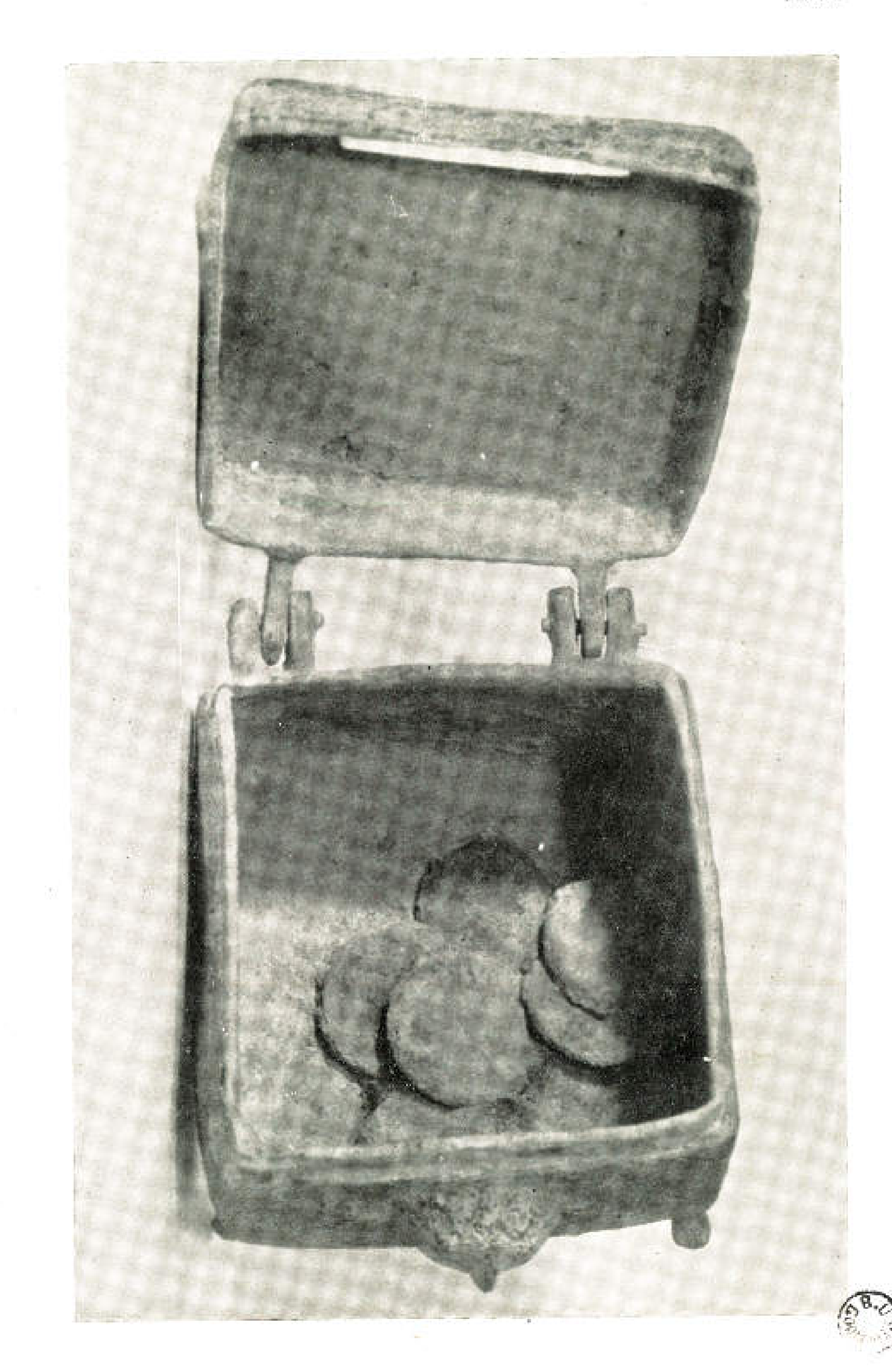


A



B

Pl. III



ZWEI VON RAMSES II NEUBENUTZTE STEINE

VON

M. HAMMAD

Am 12. Juli 1954 fand ich im Fundament der Statue der Priesterkönigs Pinoudjem einen Steinblock, der Zeichen einer mehrmaligen Benutzung trägt. Es handelt sich um einen Querbalken aus Sandstein (2, 40 x 1, 10 x 0, 45), der schon im Altertum mit einem neueren Stück ausgebessert war. Spuren roter Farbe sind noch vorhanden (Abb. 1).

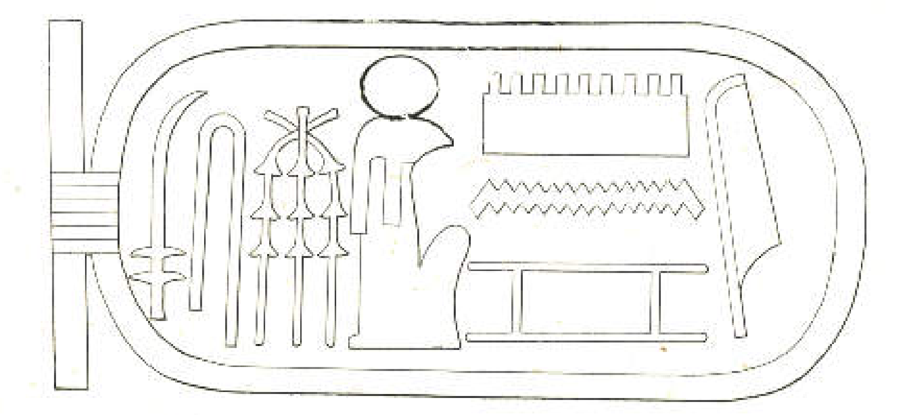
Der Name des Königs ist teilweise ausgemeisselt und durch den von Ramses II ersetzt. Der ursprüngliche Name kann jedoch einwandfrei



Abb. 1

als der Sethos I, des Vaters von Ramses II, wiedererkannt werden (Abb. 2). Während die Inschrift Sethos I in erhabenem Relief steht, hat Ramses II einige Zeichen seines Namens in schlecht gearbeiteter, tief eingegrabener Schrift einsetzen lassen. Die auch in seinem Namen vorkommenden Zeichen liess er unberührt. Die Handlungsweise Ramses II ist uns aus vielen Beispielen hinlänglich bekannt, hat er doch an vielen Stellen in von seinem Vater erbauten Denkmälern, u. a.





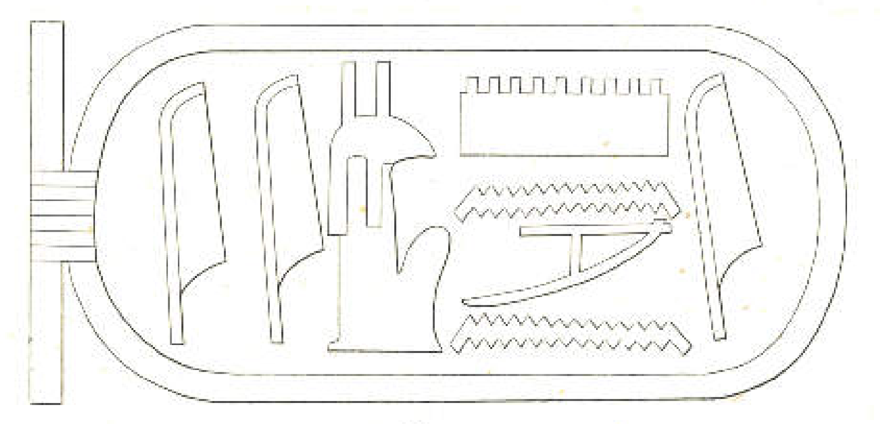


Abb. 2



Abb. 3

im Säulensaal von Karnak seinen Namen durch den eigenen ersetzen lassen. Dadurch wurden eine Reihe der bekannten, in dem eigenen und eleganten Stil Sethos I geformten Reliefs stark beschädigt (Abb. 3). Oft sind jedoch am Ende des Namens Sethos I die Zeichen erkennbar.

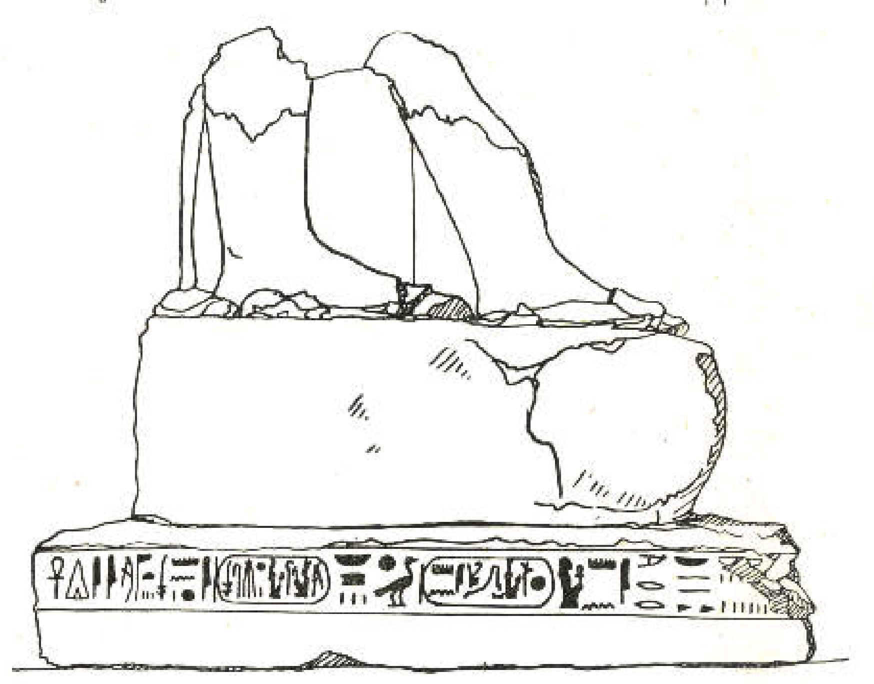


Abb. 4

Auf den Säulen des Saales in Karnak hat Ramses II sogar in den Zwischenräumen der Reliefs seine Kartousche angebracht.

Es sei noch erwähnt, dass auch andere Könige solche Ersetzungen vornahmen. Man denke nur an den bekanntesten Fall im Tempel von Deir el Bahri, wo Thutmosis unter Wiederbenutzung des ⊙ die Gruppe *M3ʿ·t k3 Rʿ* in *Mn ḫpr Rʿ* umwandelte. Ein anderes Beispiel für die Nebeneinanderstellung findet sich auf dem Statuensockel Ramses II vor dem 2. Pylon in Karnak, wo Ramses IV seine Kartousche neben die seines grossen Vorfahren stellte, um damit überhaupt im Amunstempel vertreten zu sein (Abb. 4) (vergl. schliesslich die vieldiskutierten Umbenennungen auf den Sphingen von Tanis).

Der 2. Stein kam an der gleichen Stelle zu Tage. Auch in diesem Fall ist es ein Sandsteinblock (1, 18 x 0, 66 x 0, 46) der mehrmals benutzt

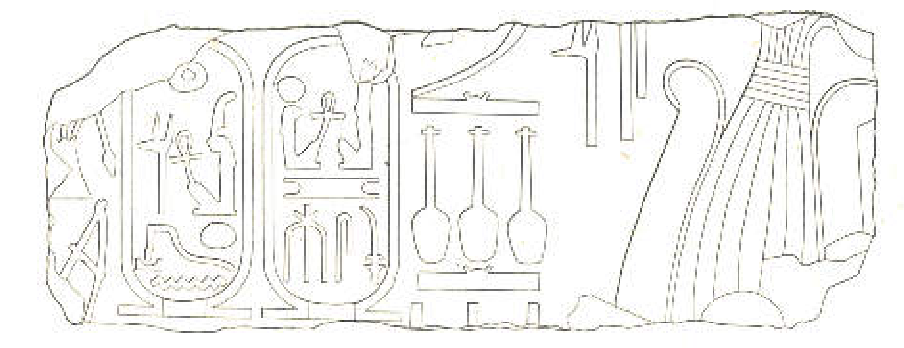




Abb. 5

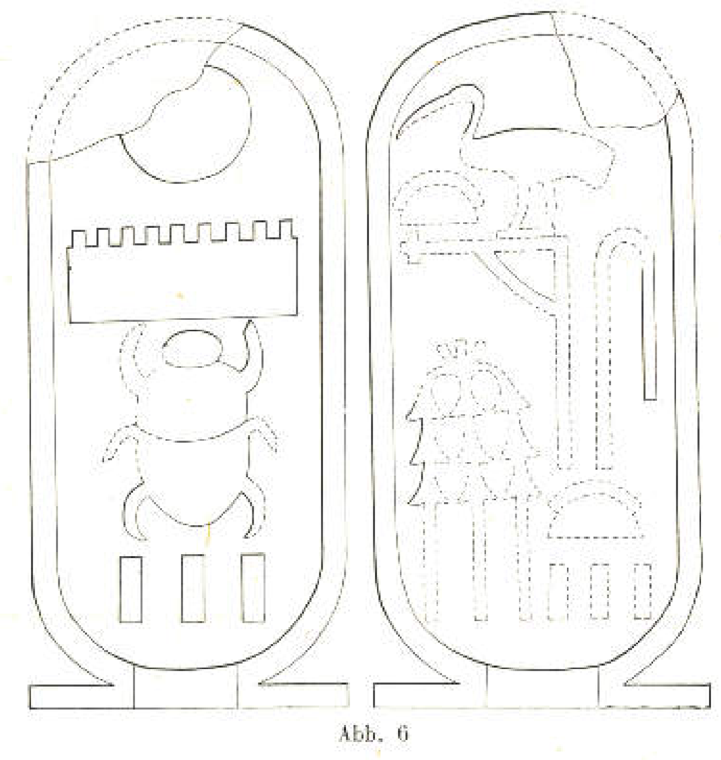


Abb. 6

wurde (Abb. 5). Die ursprüngliche Kartousche stammt von Thutmosis IV (Abb. 6) und wurde von Ramses II wiederverwendet, wobei er die Fläche rot und blau übermalte, um die früheren Spuren ganz zu verdecken. Eine Kerbe zeigt, dass der Stein zum dritten und letzten Mal als Füllung, wahrscheinlich des 2. Pylons, eingebaut wurde.

M. Hammad.

LE CULTE D'AMENEMHAT III AU FAYOUM À L'ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE

PAR

HENRI RIAD

Le Fayoum est une grande oasis qui reçoit ses eaux du Bahr Youssef. Ce dernier se déverse dans un grand lac que les Grecs appelaient Lac Mœris, d'après son nom égyptien Mer-our. Ce lac couvrait, au moins au temps de l'inondation, une grande partie de l'oasis. Son exploitation avait été un des grands soucis des rois de la XIIe dynastie qui s'établirent dans le voisinage du Fayoum. Les emplacements de leur résidence et de leurs pyramides étaient Ittaoui (El-Licht), Dahchour, El-Lahoun et Hawara [1]. Ces rois, par la création d'un système de canaux et d'une écluse à El-Lahoun, régularisèrent la distribution de l'eau abondante [2]. Amenemhat III surtout resta célèbre par ces grands travaux; il passait pour être le fondateur du Lac Mœris. En réalité, ce roi fit exécuter au Fayoum de grands travaux pour régulariser le mouvement des eaux [3].

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[1] Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte* (Paris 1952), p. 252.

[2] Selon R. H. Brown, *The Fayoum and Lake Mœris* (London 1892), p. 77, ils ont desséché une superficie de 113 millions de mètres carrés sur 1600 millions de mètres carrés.

[3] R. H. Brown dans son livre; *op. cit.*, p. 67 dit : « The formation of Lake Mœris is credited to Amenemhat III of the XIIth dynasty, who gained a reputation for making great improvements of the Irrigation Department, and carrying out hydraulic works of immense benefit to the country, about 2500 B. C., or within 5000 years of to-day. Now, 5000 years, geologically estimated, is a very short time, and we may assume, without much chance of error, that he had practically the same general conditions to work with as regards relative levels of land and water and Nile discharges as we have to-day». M. Brown était directeur général de l'Irrigation de la Haute-Egypte. Son étude technique, celle d'un ingénieur, est généralement bien appréciée.

Amenemhat III a laissé des monuments dans plusieurs endroits du Fayoum. Il a fait bâtir un temple dans la capitale pour le dieu crocodile Sobek, dieu principal du Fayoum [1]; la partie principale de ce temple était une vaste salle consacrée à Sobek dont «les colonnes et le sol sont en granit rose et les portes en or pur» [2]. Ses deux statues colossales à Biahmou devaient être érigées au lieu d'embarquement pour les bateaux destinés à la capitale surtout quand le niveau de l'eau baissait [3]. A Médinet Madi on a découvert un temple d'Amenemhat III et d'Amenemhat IV [4]. A Hawara Amenemhat III a fait bâtir une pyramide [5]. Son temple funéraire a été décrit en détail par Hérodote; les Grecs l'avaient appelé le labyrinthe à cause de ses 3000 pièces disposées sur deux étages [6]. Ce labyrinthe était parmi les curiosités que le touriste souhaitait voir en Egypte. En l'an 112 av. J.-C., le sénateur L. Memmius vint à Alexandrie dans le but de visiter le pays. Pour organiser sa visite au Fayoum, un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexandrie envoya aux autorités locales du Fayoum ses suggestions. Il recommanda expressément la visite du labyrinthe et le spectacle des crocodiles sacrés [7].

Etant un des grands bienfaiteurs de cette province, Amenemhat III fut l'objet d'un culte à l'époque ptolémaïque surtout parce que les premiers Ptolémées avaient repris les travaux de dessèchement commencés par les Pharaons de la XIIe dynastie [8]. Ce culte est attesté dans plusieurs endroits de la province : la capitale (Crocodilopolis) [9], Hawara [10],

[1] Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, p. 98.

[2] L. Habachi, *A. S. A. E.*, XXXVII (1937), *Une vaste salle d'Amenemhat III à Kiman-Farès* (Fayoum), p. 85 sq.

[3] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[4] A. Vogliano, *Secondo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano* (1936), p. 17 sq.

[5] Une autre pyramide du même roi se trouve à Dahchour, voir Drioton-Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[6] Hérodote II, 148.

[7] P. Tebt. I, 33.

[8] Il paraît qu'il était adoré même à l'époque pharaonique; voir L. Habachi, *A. S. A. E.*, LII (1952), *Khataʿna and Qântir*, p. 465-466. Cf. O. Guéraud, *A. S. A. E.*, XL (1940), *Une stèle gréco-romaine au cartouche d'Amenemhat III*, p. 554 sq.

[9] L. Habachi, *JEA*, XLI (décembre 1955), *A Strange Monument of the Ptolemaic Period from Crocodilopolis*, p. 106-111.

[10] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmou and Arsinoe*, pl. VII, 2 = *Archiv für Papyr. III*, p. 136, N° 17, du temps de Ptolémée XIII Néos Dionysos; *SB* 5755.

Philadelphie [1], Médinet Madi [2], Socnopaiou Nesos (Dimeh) [3].

Il était adoré sous différents noms [4]: *Πρεαμαρρῆs* et *Φραμαρῆs* (à Hawara), *Πορεμανρῆs* (à Philadelphie), *Πορραμανρῆs* (à Médinet Madi), *Πραμαρρῆs* et *Πρεμαρρῆs* (à Socnopaiou Nesos) et *Πρεμανρῆs* (P. Petrie II, 43 [b] II. 65, 66 du IIIe siècle av. J.-C.). Ce culte nous a été révélé aussi par une inscription de Kasr el-Banat (Euhemeria) sous le nom *Πρεεμαρρῆs*. Cette inscription est gravée en caractères élégants sur une dalle en calcaire qui se trouve au Musée du Caire (J. E. 89048) [5]. La voici (pl. I) :

ὑ]πὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου Καὶ Βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεῶν
Φιλομητόρων Νεχθνῖβις Σοκομήνιος Καὶ οἱ υἱόι
Τὸ πρόπυλον Πρεεμαρρῆτι Θεῶι μεγάλωι εὐχήν

«*Pour le salut du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée, et de la reine Cléopâtre, dieux Philometor, Nechthnibis, fils de Sokomenis, et ses fils* (*ont dédié*) *ce propylon à Preemarrès, dieu grand, en témoignage de reconnaissance*».

La date de la dédicace ne peut être déterminée avec précision. Elle se situe nécessairement entre les années 172 et 146 av. J.-C. qui sont celles du mariage et de la mort de Philométor. On peut même essayer de restreindre cet intervalle en considérant qu'il n'est pas question dans l'inscription des enfants de Philométor. Cette omission constitue un critère chronologique qu'il ne faut pas négliger, et nous devons en conclure que si Philométor était alors déjà marié, Cléopâtre ne lui avait pas encore donné des enfants. Or, d'une part, l'inscription est postérieure à l'année 172, de l'autre, l'omission du nom des enfants prouve qu'elle est antérieure à l'année où naquit le premier fils de Philométor, Eupator, le fils aîné de

[1] P. Michig-Zénon, 84, 11, 18 et 21, du IIIe siècle av J.-C.

[2] *SB* 8181, 1.34.

[3] *SB* 1269 (Ptolémée IX Alexandre, 104 av. J.-C.); *SB* 8884, 11, 5 et 7 (même date).

[4] Pour l'assimilation d'Amenemhat III, *N-mȝʿt-rʿ* à Pramarrès ou variantes de ce nom, voir Rubensohn, *Z. Ä. S.*, XLII (1905), p. 111 sq.; Spiegelberg, *Z. Ä. S.*, XLIII (1906), p. 84 sq.; *Archiv. für Papyr.*, IV, p. 211-212.

[5] Dim.: 130 cm. × 20 cm. × 25 cm.

Philométor, fut associé au pouvoir par son père de 153/2 à 150, date à laquelle il mourut âgé de vingt ans environ [1], ce qui fixe la date de sa naissance aux environs de 170. Ces deux observations combinées indiquent que l'inscription date probablement de l'année 172/171 av. J.-C.

Il est difficile de savoir dans quel temple ce propylône a été érigé; on sait qu'à l'époque ptolémaïque, il y en avait plusieurs : l'un consacré à Sobek-Souchos, un deuxième à Amon et un troisième aux dieux crocodiles; Psosnaus, Pnéphéros et Soxis [2].

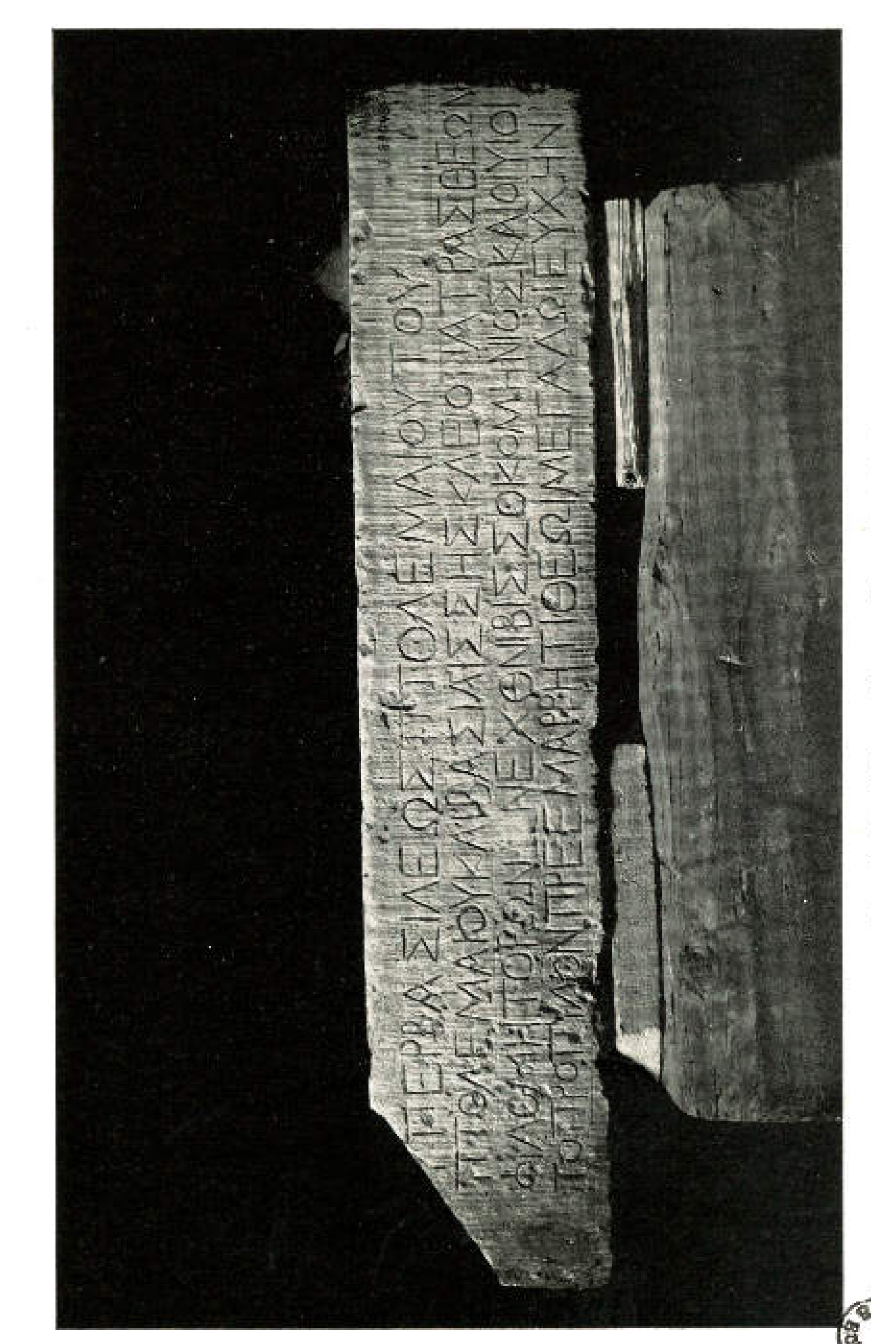
Le culte d'Amenemhat III continua jusqu'à l'époque romaine [3].

Henri Riad.

[1] E. Bevan, *Histoire des Lagides* (traduction française, Payot, 1934), p. 338-339.

[2] Nicolas Hohlwein, *Journal of Juristic Studies III* (1949), Evhemeria du Fayoum, p. 63 sq.

[3] O. Guéraud, *op. cit.*, p. 554.



Inscription de Kasr el-Banat (Musée du Caire).

UN GROUPE DE TOMBES À SAQQARAH :

ICHEṮI, NEFER-KHOUOU-PTAH, SÉBEK-EM-KHENT ET ÂNKHI

(avec 25 planches)

PAR

ET. DRIOTON ET J.-PH. LAUER

Ce groupe de tombes se trouve situé le long de l'enceinte ouest de la Pyramide à degrés et à une centaine de mètres de l'angle Nord-Ouest de cette enceinte. Nous avons été amenés à le dégager au cours de la recherche des pierres provenant de l'enceinte de Zoser, qui étaient nécessaires pour la reconstitution de l'entrée de celle-ci [1]. Ces déblaiements eurent lieu en 1948 [2], puis en 1949-1950 et enfin en 1951-1952 [3].

Nous allons décrire ces différentes tombes et leur contenu dans l'ordre de leurs découvertes respectives.

I. TOMBES D'ICHEṮI ET DE SA FAMILLE

A. TOMBE D'ICHEṮI LUI-MÊME.

Cette tombe, qui fut la première atteinte, a son puits situé contre la fondation même de l'enceinte de Zoser (voir pl. III). Ce puits profond de 12 m. 87 donne accès vers l'Ouest à la chambre sépulcrale. En surface, la stèle retrouvée arrachée et brisée en de nombreux fragments (voir pl. VI, *a*) était à l'origine immédiatement à l'Ouest du puits, adossée au fond d'une niche dans un mur de brique crue de forte épaisseur (2 m. 50 env.) qui limite le mastaba enfermant, nous le verrons, les tombes de Nefer-khouou-Ptah, Sébek-em-khent et Ânkhi (cf. pl. I).

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[1] Cf. J.-Ph. LAUER, *Découverte du* serdab *du chancelier Icheṯi à Saqqarah*, dans *Revue d'Egyptologie*, t. VII, p. 15.

[2] Cf. *ibidem*, p. 15-18 et pl. I et II.

[3] Cf. J.-Ph. LAUER, dans *Ann. Serv. Antiq. Egypte*, t. LIII, p. 155-159 et pl. III-VIII, ainsi que *Bull. Soc. franç. d'Egyptologie*, n° 12, p. 29-31.

Les deux parois de la niche étaient revêtues de belles dalles de calcaire fin de Tourah, réduisant la largeur du sanctuaire à 0 m. 95 environ. Ces dalles ornées de bas-reliefs et inscrites (pl. IV et V) montrent Icheti assis devant sa table autour de laquelle s'amoncellent les victuailles que lui apportent ses serviteurs. Tout en bas, le premier registre représente les scènes de boucherie habituelles.

Au-dessus du personnage, son nom Icheti et sa titulature : « régisseur du domaine de la pyramide de Neferka-Rê (Pépi II), ami unique, prêtre lecteur et directeur des missions du domaine divin ».

Au-dessus de la table et des victuailles, le menu en pancarte avec indication du nombre des différentes portions, et à la fin de cette énumération les personnages accomplissant la liturgie de l'offrande.

Le panneau de droite (côté Nord) conservé en majeure partie (pl. IV) est d'un style excellent et particulièrement le portrait même d'Icheti. Du panneau de gauche (côté Sud) il ne subsiste que trois fragments importants : une partie de la titulature et de la pancarte (pl. V, *a*) ; la partie antérieure du buste d'Icheti assis et portant le bras vers sa table (pl. V, *b*) ; l'extrémité de la scène de boucherie et la moitié inférieure de la partie du registre des porteurs d'offrandes, qui la surmonte (pl. V, *c*).

Voici la transcription de ces différents éléments :

1° Partie de la paroi Nord de la Chapelle d'Icheti (pl. IV).

Au-dessus du personnage assis :

1. « le Gouverneur du domaine de la pyramide [Men]-Nefer (de Pépi Ier), le béatifié. »

2. « le Gouverneur du domaine de .... de [Méri]-Rê, l'ami unique, le prêtre-lecteur. »

3. « le Directeur des entreprises du domaine divin, le béatifié Icheti. »

Devant lui, en haut. Partie inférieure de la pancarte :

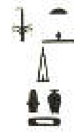
Cette pancarte, dont il ne subsiste que le bas est, a quelques variantes d'orthographe près, identique à celle du caveau, intégralement conservée.

C'est à la numérotation de celle-ci que renvoient les chiffres mis en tête de chaque article.

Sous chacun des énoncés et au-dessus de l'indication du nombre de portions, un petit personnage agenouillé porte sur son bras étendu une figuration du mets désigné le plus souvent sur une écuelle ou dans une jarre.

... 43.	44.	45. [1]
46.	47.	48.
49.	50.	51.
52.	53.	... ...
60.	61.	62.
63.	64.	65.
66.	67.	68.
69.	70.	71.
72.	73.	74.
75.	76.	77.
78.	79.	80.
81.	82.	83.
... ...	90.	91.
92.	93.	94.
95.	96.	97.
98.		

A la fin de la liste, devant les personnages qui accomplissent la liturgie de l'offrande :



[1] Le petit personnage porte sur son épaule un sac qui pend le long de son dos.

Au-dessous de la pancarte et au-dessus de l'autel : ←

Entre les jambes du personnage et le pied de l'autel :

Devant le prêtre-lecteur : →

Au-dessous, surmontant les porteurs d'offrandes : →

« Présentation des pièces découpées qui lui sont apportées par ses enfants, ses frères, ses prêtres funéraires de son domaine, provenant de ses villages de ... ... »

Devant le quatrième personnage : →

« Chef d'équipe »

En bas, scène de boucherie. Prélèvement de la cuisse avant de la victime. Dialogue des bouchers :

A gauche : ← « Tire à toi, camarade ! »[1].

A droite : → « Je fais à ta guise »[2].

2° Fragments de la paroi Sud.

a) *Fragment de la titulature et de la pancarte d'Icheti* (pl. V, *a*).

Grande inscription :

1 ... ...

2 ... ...

3

[1] Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, Strasbourg 1925, p. 158.

[2] Id., p. 172.

... « Le tenancier de domaine de la Pyramide Men-Nefer de Pépi [Ier], béatifié... ...

... Le régisseur du domaine de la Pyramide Men-[Ankh ?] [Neferkarê ?], ami unique, le premier sous le roi ...

... Téti, de qui le beau nom est Icheti. »

Fragment de menu :

Première ligne :

1. Détruit. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une corbeille*. Chiffre 2.
2. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une corbeille*. Chiffre 2.
3. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 1. / *Personnage agenouillé présentant une jarre*. Chiffre 1.
4. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 1.
5. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 1.
6. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 2.
7. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 2.
8. Détruit. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 4.

Deuxième ligne :

1. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une oie*. Chiffre 1.
2. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une oie*. Chiffre 1.
3. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une oie*. Chiffre 1.
4. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une oie*. Chiffre 1.
5. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une oie*. Chiffre 1.
6. *Personnage agenouillé présentant un pain*. Chiffre 2.
7. *Personnage agenouillé présentant deux pains*. Chiffre 2.
8. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une corbeille*. Chiffre 2.
9. *Personnage agenouillé présentant une corbeille*. Chiffre 2.

Troisième ligne :

1. *Suite détruite.*
2. *Suite détruite.*
3. *Suite détruite.*

4. *Suite détruite.*
5. *Suite détruite.*
6. *Suite détruite.*
7. *Suite détruite.*
8. *Suite détruite.*
9. *Suite détruite.*

b) *Fragment du buste d'Icheti* (pl. V, *b*) *surmonté du texte suivant :* (⟶)

...

«...millier de vases d'albâtre, millier de tissus, au régisseur de domaine, ami unique Téti, de qui le beau nom est Icheti.»

c) *Episode de scène de boucherie* (pl. V, *c*).

Au milieu : (⟵)

«Recueille le sang, ô ....»

A droite : (⟶)

«Tiens dans ta main!»

A gauche : (⟵)

«Je fais à ton plaisir».

3° La Stèle d'Icheti, dont le beau nom est Téti (pl. VI, *a*).

Les éléments retrouvés de cette stèle de calcaire fin brisée en de multiples fragments ont pu être rassemblés. Les hiéroglyphes, sauf ceux du tableau en grande partie détruit, sont gravés en creux et présentent encore des traces de peinture verte, tandis que la stèle même est peinte en imitation de granit rose. Dimensions de cette dernière : h. = 1 m. 53 environ; l. = 0 m. 935. Voici la transcription des textes conservés :

Encadrement extérieur

En haut : (⟵)

...

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis... qui préside au Kiosque Divin : que l'offrande funéraire ...»

A gauche : (⟵)

... ...

«... [directeur] des entreprises du domaine divin dans les deux administrations, le béatifié [auprès du Grand Dieu, Téti], de qui le beau nom est Icheti.»

A droite : (⟶)

«Privilège que donne le roi et privilège que donne Osiris qui préside à Busiris, seigneur d'Abydos : que l'offrande funéraire soit faite au Régent de domaine, ami unique, Icheti.»

Encadrement intérieur.

En haut : (⟵)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne : qu'il soit enseveli magnifiquement, le béatifié Icheti.»

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Osiris : que l'offrande funéraire soit faite au régisseur de domaine, ami unique, prêtre-lecteur Icheti.»

A gauche : (⟵)

...

«Le régisseur du domaine de la Pyramide Men-Nefer de [Pépi Ier], ami unique, directeur des nomes du Delta ... ...»

...

«L'ami unique, directeur des entreprises du domaine divin, le béatifié...»

A droite : (→)

« Le régisseur du domaine de la Pyramide Men-Ankh de Neferkarê, ami unique, le Premier sous le roi, directeur des entreprises du domaine divin... »

« Le régisseur du domaine de la Pyramide Men-Nefer de Mérirê, ami unique, prêtre-lecteur, béatifié auprès du grand Dieu, Téti, de qui le beau nom est Icheṯi. »

Tableau

Au-dessus du personnage :

« ... Icheṯi, de qui le beau nom est Ṯéti (*sic*). »

Devant lui, énumération des milliers d'offrandes.

Au-dessous du tableau, en linteau : (←)

« Le béatifié auprès ... ... Icheṯi. »

« L'ami unique ... ... le béatifié Ṯéti. »

4° Le *serdab* d'Icheti

Le puits d'Icheṯi (pl. III, *a* et *b*), qui mesure 1 m. 25 de côté, offre la particularité de présenter dans sa paroi orientale à 3 m. 47 au-dessous du niveau supérieur de la fondation de l'enceinte de Zoser (F, pl. III), contre laquelle il est accolé, une vaste niche (S, pl. III, *b*) de 0 m. 90 de hauteur sur 2 m. 20 de largeur et 1 m. 20 en moyenne de profondeur,

ayant fait office de *serdab* (voir pl. II)[1]. C'est là, en effet, que nous avons retrouvé ce joli lot de statues et statuettes de bois, dont les meilleures sont exposées au Musée du Caire[2], et que nous avions déjà eu l'occasion de décrire sommairement[3]. Ce *serdab*, bien que la paroi de brique crue, qui en obturait l'entrée, eût été brisée par les voleurs, ne fut heureusement pas saccagé par eux ; notre planche (VII, *a*) montre la situation respective des principaux objets lors de la découverte.

Description du contenu

a) *Statue d'Icheṯi*[4] (pl. VIII, *a*, à gauche, VII, *b*, IX, *a* et *b*).

Cette statue, mesurant 0 m. 665 de hauteur au-dessus du socle, et 0 m. 72 avec ce dernier, était en bois peint. La perruque, les sourcils, les cils, la barbe sont noirs ; les yeux blancs et noirs ; le pagne blanc. Des traces d'une couche d'ocre rouge épaisse subsistent par place sur le corps. Les ongles enfin sont teintés de rose.

Icheti porte la perruque longue et la barbe de dignitaire. Il est figuré marchant et tenant le sceptre *sḫm* de la main droite et un long bâton de la gauche. Le visage vigoureusement taillé dans le bois est expressif ; il semble dénoter un portrait assez fidèle. Le cou est fort, les épaules larges, la taille fine ; les genoux sont soigneusement modelés mais les chevilles sont lourdes.

Sur le socle est gravé le nom, précédé des titres, « chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte », « régisseur du domaine », et « ami unique ».

b) *Statue d'Icheṯi*[5] (pl. VIII, *b*, à droite).

A peu près de mêmes dimensions que la première (h. = 0 m. 665 au-dessus du socle, et 0 m. 715 au total), elle se présente dans la même attitude de marche, portant aussi le pagne blanc et tenant d'une main le *sḫm* et de l'autre la longue canne. Mais sur cette image Icheṯi ne porte

[1] Des dispositions analogues avaient déjà été rencontrées à Saqqarah, cf. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*.

[2] *J.E.* 88575-88582.

[3] Cf. J.-Ph. Lauer, *Revue d'Egyptologie*, t. VII, *loc. cit.*

[4] *J.E.* 88575.

[5] *J.E.* 88576.

plus la barbe de dignitaire et il est coiffé de la perruque frisée au lieu de la perruque longue. En outre, cette statue a conservé beaucoup plus de couleur, car la peinture n'y recouvre le bois que par l'interposition d'un épais stucage qui, sur le visage, a dû contribuer à modifier les traits; cela peut expliquer la dissemblance de ces deux portraits que nous possédons d'Ichet̲i (voir pl. VIII, *a*) dont le nom accompagné des mêmes titres se trouve également gravé sur le socle de cette seconde statue.

c) *Statuette de porteuse d'offrandes* [1] (pl. X, *a* et *b*, à droite et XI, *a* et *b*, à droite).

Bois, avec restes de peinture. Hauteur, prise du sommet de la tête à la face supérieure du socle = 0 m. 34. Cette femme est figurée marchant et portant sur la tête une caisse rectangulaire au dessus arrondi, qu'elle maintient du bras gauche, le droit pendant le long du corps. Peinte en ocre jaune, elle est revêtue d'une robe blanche, décolletée entre les seins et dans le dos, qui épouse des formes soigneusement modelées. Malheureusement la tête trop forte et les chevilles épaisses sont peu en harmonie avec l'élégance du reste du corps (voir pl. X, *b* et XI, *b*, à droite). Le front, enfin, est ceint d'un ruban peint en noir et croisé au dos de la tête afin de contenir la chevelure terminée en pointe sur la nuque.

d) *Statuette de servante* [2] (pl. X, *a* et *b*, à gauche et XI, *a*, à gauche).

Bois fortement stuqué. H. (au-dessus du socle) = 0 m. 325.

Bien que les cheveux peints en noir soient indiqués ras, le corps teinté en ocre jaune marque bien le caractère féminin de la personne. Celle-ci, revêtue d'un simple pagne blanc, broie du grain dans un mortier; une grande assiette se trouve, en outre, sculptée au-dessus du socle à côté du mortier.

d) *Petite statuette de rameur assis* (pl. XII, *a*, à gauche).

Bois avec traces de peinture. H. = 0 m. 13 environ. Elle a dû appartenir à un modèle de barque ou de chaland en bois, dont il ne subsiste qu'une rame (visible pl. XII, *a*), une gaffe et quelques fragments d'autres rames.

e) *Deux petites statuettes* (pl. XII, *a*, à droite et XII, *b*).

[1] *J. E.* 88579. [2] *J. E.* 88580.

Bois avec restes de peinture. Ces deux figurines ont pu faire partie soit de l'équipage de la barque auquel appartenait la statuette précédente, soit d'un modèle de cuisine où l'on préparait des pains ou des gâteaux, dont nous avons retrouvé quelques éléments décrits ci-après (en *f*).

La première de ces deux statuettes figure un homme debout (h. = 0 m. 192), vêtu d'un pagne blanc, le bras droit replié sur la poitrine. La seconde est celle d'une jeune femme agenouillée et assise sur ses talons; son bras droit est également replié sur la poitrine, tandis que le gauche repose sur ses genoux (voir pl. XI, *b* à gauche et XII, *a*, à droite). Elle porte une longue robe décolletée dans le dos (pl. XII, *b*, à droite) comme celle de la statuette de servante (pl. XI, *b*, à droite), une ceinture jaune et, dans les cheveux, un ruban blanc noué et croisé derrière la tête.

f) *Simulacres d'objets de cuisine.*

Ces objets traités en calcaire peint d'ocre rouge foncé comprennent :

Une pile de moules à pains ou à gâteaux sculptés dans une seule pierre (h. = 10 cm. 5), visible entre les deux statuettes, pl. XI, *b*, ainsi que sur la photographie du *serdab* (pl. VII, *a* en T).

Trois petits plateaux circulaires (d. = 9 cm.); l'un d'eux est visible sur la photographie du *serdab* (pl. VII, *a*, en P).

Un simulacre de récipient tronconique avec couvercle sculpté dans la même pierre (h. = 7 cm.)

g) *Un petit modèle de vase en bois* (h. = 6 cm. 5).

h) *Neuf petits sacs de toile* (pl. XIII, *a*).

Ces petits sacs encore noués par de la ficelle contenaient des céréales, le mieux conservé du blé en épis [1] et les huit autres, la plupart en fort mauvais état, de l'orge. La hauteur de ces petits sacs variait de 12 à 18 cm. Ils constituaient peut-être la charge d'un ou plusieurs chalands, comme il en a été découvert à la pyramide de Neith [2]. Plusieurs de ces sacs apparaissent sur la photographie du *serdab* (pl. VII, *a* en S).

[1] Cf. dans *Bull. Inst. d'Egypte*, t. XXXII, J.-Ph. Lauer, V. Laurent Täckholm et E. Åberg, *Les Plantes découvertes dans les souterrains de l'enceinte du roi Zoser...*, p. 127-128 et pl. IV, 10.

[2] Cf. G. Jéquier, *Les pyramides des reines Neith et Apouit*, p. 38-39 et fig. 21.

5° Contenu du puits même d'Icheti.

En poursuivant le vidage du puits au-dessous du niveau du *serdab*, trois autres statues de bois ont été recueillies dans le sable et les débris qui le comblaient. Il s'agit peut-être là d'autres statues d'Icheti arrachées de son *serdab* par les voleurs qui y auraient pénétré après la violation de la tombe, lorsque le puits où elles furent jetées était déjà en partie réensablé. Mais il se peut également que ces statues proviennent de l'exploration de l'une des tombes voisines et qu'elles aient été alors précipitées dans le puits d'Icheti. Ces statues ayant perdu leurs socles, où aurait sans doute été gravé le nom, nous ne pouvons malheureusement plus les identifier.

L'une de ces trois statues a le visage mutilé, mais les deux autres l'ont au contraire, bien conservé ; nous devons constater que ces dernières n'ont guère de traits communs entre elles (voir pl. XIV et XV), et qu'elles ne ressemblent pas davantage à l'une ou l'autre des deux figures d'Icheti découvertes dans le *serdab*.

La statue la mieux conservée (pl. XIV, *a* et *b*)[1] est la plus petite : h. = 0 m. 42. S'il s'agit d'une statue d'Icheti, ce dernier serait ici représenté encore adolescent. Sa figure est ronde, presque joufflue, et son corps est également charnu et bien modelé. Le personnage tient de sa main droite la partie antérieure empesée de sa longue jupe attachée au-dessous du nombril ; par derrière celle-ci maintenue au-dessus des hanches flotte avec souplesse, tout en laissant admirablement transparaître les mouvements de la marche[2]. L'ensemble de cette statue est très finement sculpté sans stucage ; à part le noir des cheveux ras, des sourcils et des yeux, les traces de couleur qu'on y relève sont très faibles.

La seconde statue (pl. XV, *a* et *b*), sensiblement plus grande[3] (h. = 0 m. 53), est au contraire largement stuquée et présente encore des

[1] Elle est maintenant exposée au Musée du Caire (*J. E.* 88577).

[2] Cf. en particulier la photographie vue de dos que nous avions publiée dans *Revue d'Égyptologie*, t. VII, *op. cit.*, pl. II *a*.

[3] *J. E.* 88578.

couleurs assez vives, ocre rouge pour la peau, noire pour la chevelure rase et les sourcils, blanche pour la longue jupe du même type que celle de la statue précédente. Le corps est élancé et charpenté, la figure plus allongée avec un nez plus saillant et des lèvres moins épaisses. La boîte crânienne, peu développée dans sa partie frontale, se prolonge en poire vers l'arrière, particularités qui se retrouvent également à la statue précédente, quoique de façon moins accusée. Le pied gauche cassé est perdu.

Quant à la troisième statue, le visage en est mutilé ainsi que l'épaule et le bras droits ; les pieds ont disparu. Elle est de même dimension que la seconde avec laquelle elle présente la plus grande similitude. On y retrouve, en particulier, la même forme caractéristique du crâne.

6° La chambre sépulcrale d'Icheti

C'est, nous l'avons dit, à plus de 12 mètres de profondeur que le puits ouvre vers l'Ouest sur la chambre sépulcrale taillée dans le roc (voir pl. II). Cette chambre à peu près rectangulaire mesure 4 m. 70 (dans le sens Nord-Sud) sur 1 m. 90. Elle présente, en outre, dans sa paroi occidentale une sorte de niche large de 2 m. 60 et profonde de 0 m. 93. La hauteur de cette niche est de 1 m. 37, alors que celle de la chambre atteint 1 m. 77. Un muret de 0 m. 45 de haut × 0 m. 30 de large, dont il ne subsiste en place qu'une petite partie, séparait la niche de la chambre.

Au centre de cette dernière, une cuve (2 m. 10 × 0 m. 92) avait été taillée dans le roc pour servir de sarcophage. Cette cuve est encore recouverte d'une large dalle de calcaire de 2 m. 45 × 1 m. 12 ; les voleurs ne l'ont pas brisée, ayant préféré entailler le roc à l'extrémité nord de la cuve, pour en extraire la momie qui a disparu. Contre l'angle Sud-Est du couvercle (voir pl. VII, *b*), nous avons découvert deux vases de pierre dure et une collection de 12 charmants petits vases d'albâtre encore intacts sauf un seul, ainsi que 5 petits simulacres d'oies troussées, de la même matière (pl. XVI).

Description des vases [1]

Vase à oreilles perforées (fig. 1) en roche porphyrique : h. = 17 cm. 9 ; d. = 13 cm. 2. Teinte de fond noir bleuté, parsemée de cristaux en paillettes blanc rosé et de cristaux verdâtres. Ce vase, typiquement de la Ire dynastie, a manifestement été remployé ici.

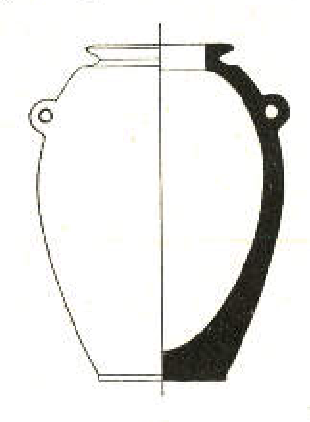


Fig. 1.

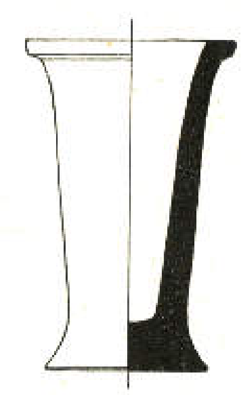


Fig. 2.

Vase légèrement tronconique à rebord et à base évasée (fig. 2), en diorite claire : h. = 17 cm. 5 ; d. = 11 cm. 1.

Douze petits vases d'albâtre typiquement de la VIe dynastie, à savoir :

Vase globuleux à col (fig. 3) : h. = 15 cm. 3 ; d. = 13 cm. 7.
Vase globuleux à col (fig. 4) : h. = 12 cm. ; d. = 13 cm. 2.
Vase globuleux à col (fig. 5) : h. = 12 cm. 5 ; d. = 12 cm. 4.
Vase globuleux à col (fig. 6) : h. = 13 cm. 5 ; d. = 11 cm.
Vase ovoïde à col (fig. 7) : h. = 14 cm. ; d. = 9 cm. 6.
Vase ovoïde (pointu) à col (fig. 8) : h. = 12 cm. 8 ; d. = 9 cm. 6.
Vase ovoïde à col (fig. 9) : h. = 14 cm. 4 ; d. = 9 cm. 3.
Vase conique à col [2] (fig. 10) : h. = 16 cm. 5 ; d. = 5 cm. 3.
Vase à col et à fond plat [3] (fig. 11) : h. = 17 cm. 1 ; d. = 9 cm. 7.

[1] La plupart de ces vases sont exposés au Musée du Caire : *J. E.* 88589 à 88603. Les schémas donnés ici sont tous réduits à l'échelle de $^1/_4$.

[2] Cf. un vase de même type dans Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, p. 83, fig. 95.

[3] Cf. vase de ce type dans Jéquier, *ibidem*, p. 83, fig. 95.

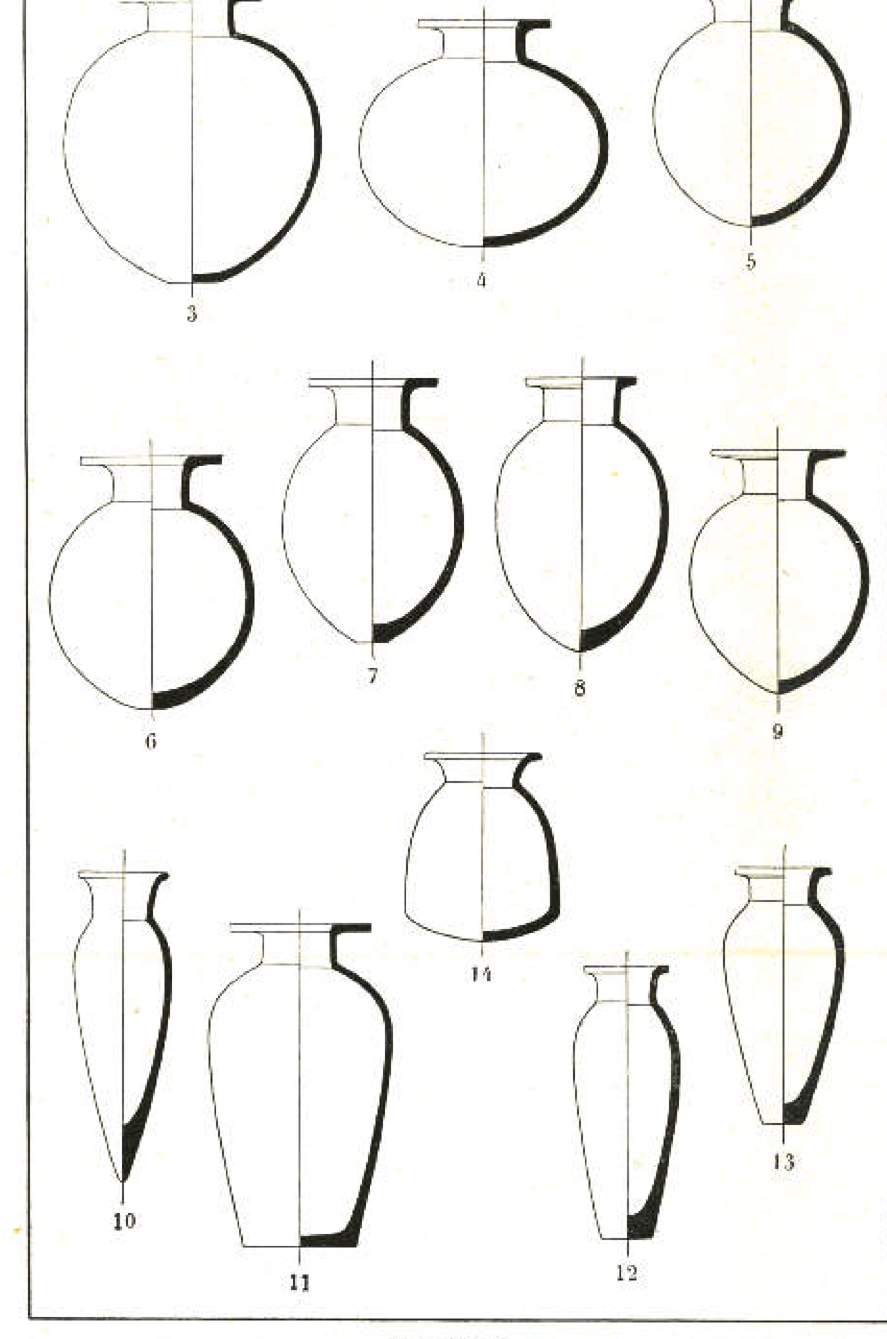


Fig. 3 à 14.

Vase à col et à fond plat (fig. 12) : h. = 14 cm. 4 ; d. = 5 cm. 7.
Vase à col et à fond plat (fig. 13) : h. = 13 cm. 5 ; d. = 6 cm. 5.
Vase à col, à fond large et incurvé [1] (fig. 14) : h. = 10 cm. ; d. = 8 cm. 3
Immédiatement au Sud de ces vases, dans l'angle Sud-Est de la chambre, se trouvaient les restes de deux pattes de bœufs recouverts d'ossements d'animaux beaucoup plus petits (voir pl. II et VII, *b*).

Dans le déblai de la chambre ont encore été recueillis les objets suivants : quelques morceaux de poteries incomplètes ; un fragment de vase de dolomite portant une inscription gravée incomplète, et provenant peut-être de l'enceinte de la Pyramide à degrés ; un tout petit vase de cuivre (h. = 3 cm. environ) avec vestiges d'un revêtement de feuille d'or ; un lot de petits simulacres d'outils de cuivre avec également quelques traces de feuille d'or comprenant :

- trois petits ciseaux de formes diverses ;
- une petite lame d'herminette ;
- une lame cassée ;
- quelques autres fragments d'outils.

Description des parois de la chambre sépulcrale (pl. XVII à XIX)

Les parois de la chambre étaient couvertes d'un enduit sur lequel avait été tracé le type de décor, comportant amoncellement d'offrandes, pancarte énumérant les différentes portions de celles-ci, façade de palais avec porte d'apparat et figuration de greniers, que l'on rencontre, généralement dans les tombes de cette époque. En voici le détail :

a) *Paroi Nord* (pl. XVII, *a*)

La porte d'apparat de la façade du palais

Frise. Proscynème à Osiris Khenti-Imentiou pour une bonne sépulture : ←

À droite. Les onguents : ←

[1] Ce vase trouvé brisé a pu être entièrement reconstitué avec ses propres fragments.

À gauche. Les onguents : ←

Les collyres : ←

b) *Paroi orientale (partie gauche)* [pl. XVII, *b*)

Amoncellement des offrandes

Inscription de frise. Proscynème à Anubis : ←

sic

c) *Paroi orientale (partie droite)* [pl. XVIII]

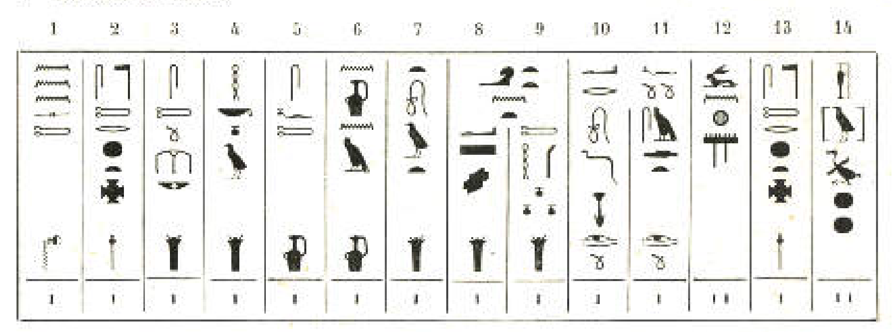
La pancarte

En haut de la paroi : →

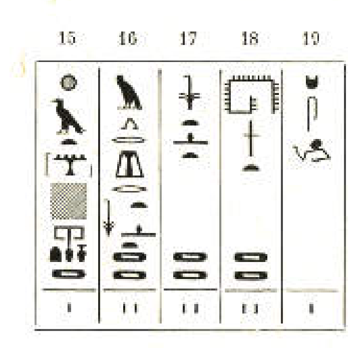
Les articles de la pancarte, au nombre de 98, avec deux cases supplémentaires pour les titres et noms du titulaire, sont répartis en quatre rangées de 25 chacune.

Ils se décomposent ainsi :

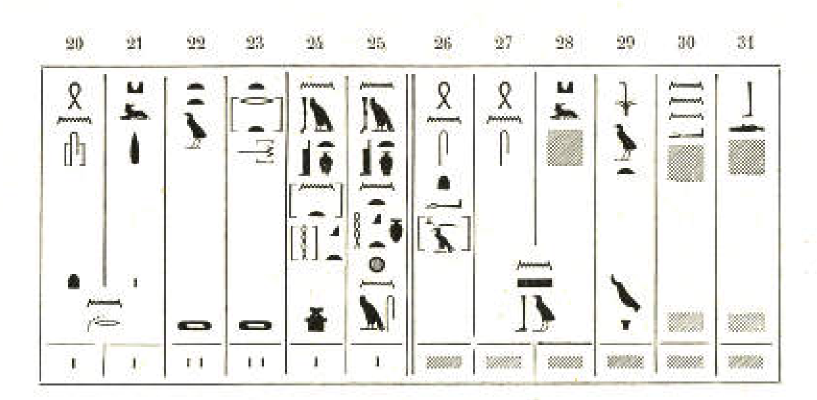
1° *Toilette et vêture*



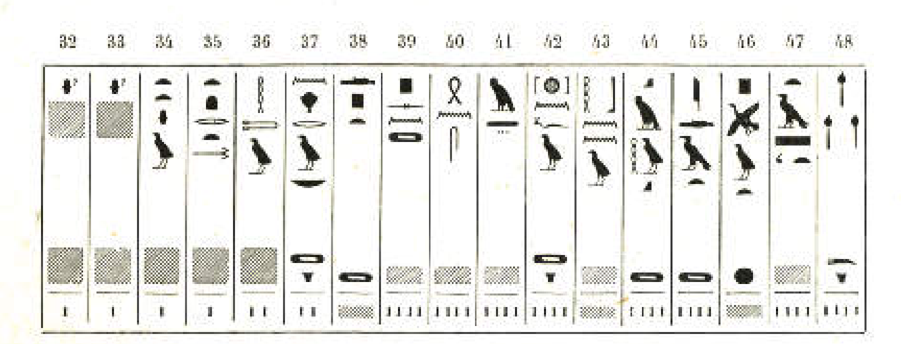
2° *Installation de la table*



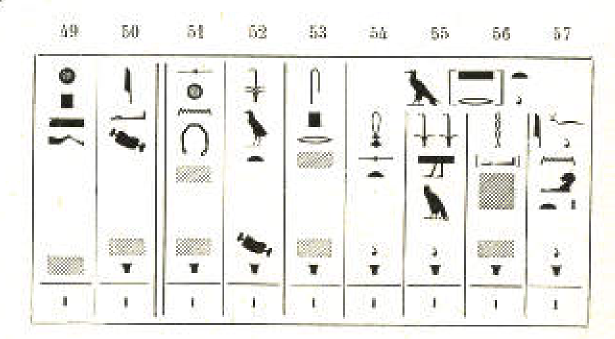
3° *Premier service*



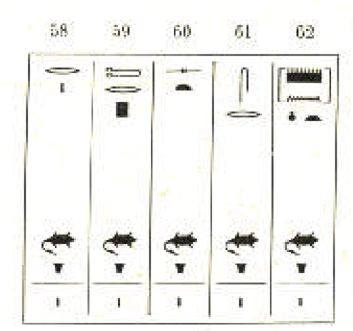
4° *Pains et oignons*



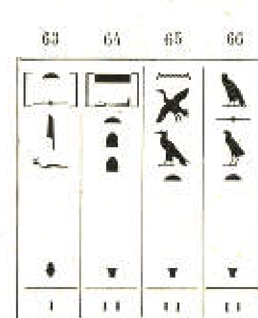
5° *Viandes*



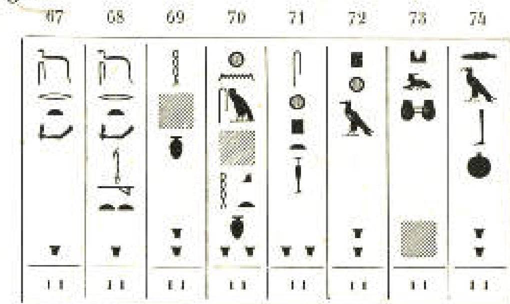
6° *Volailles*



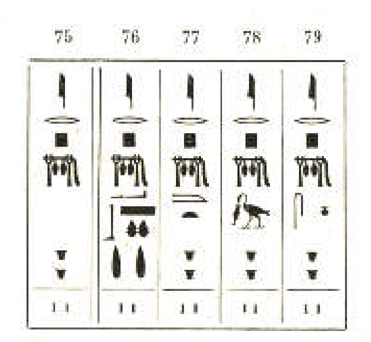
7° *Pâtisseries*



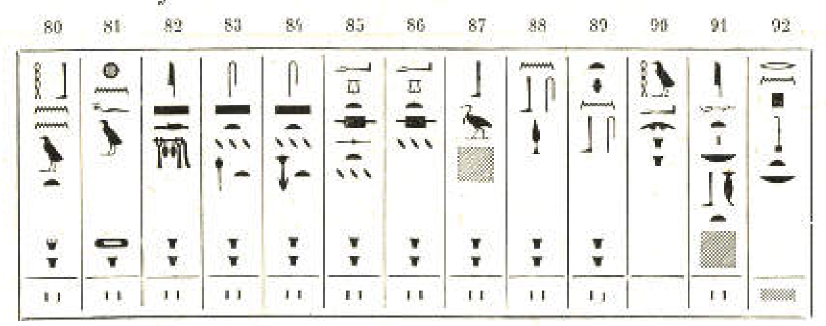
8° *Boissons et figues*



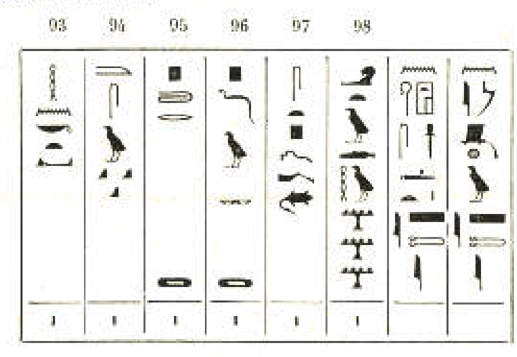
9° *Vins*



10° *Gâteaux et fruits*



11° *Suppléments et dédicaces.*



d) *Paroi méridionale* (pl. XIX).

Les greniers

En frise. Titulature du défunt : →

A droite, tas de céréales, avec les mentions suivantes : ←

(1)

(2)

(3)

Dans le registre inférieur, ballots d'étoffes et, au-dessus, linges pliés disposés en piles.

A droite, sur les ballots : ←

au-dessus des deux piles de linge : ←

A gauche, sur les ballots : ←

au-dessus des deux piles de linge : ←

7° Tombes annexes situées au Nord et au Sud du puits d'Icheti.

Au Sud du puits d'Icheti se trouvent trois autres puits que nous avons vidés puis recomblés. Le premier donne accès, à 5 ou 6 mètres de profondeur, à une petite chambre taillée dans le roc vers l'Est, comme le *serdab* d'Icheti. Une cavité ménagée à même le sol de la chambre contient encore dans un cercueil de bois inscrit sur son pourtour les ossements du possesseur de la tombe[1].

Une dalle de calcaire grossièrement taillée et de faible épaisseur recouvrait la cavité et le cercueil ; elle a été partiellement brisée par les violateurs (voir pl. XIII, *b*). Deux poteries visibles sur notre planche, l'une de grande dimension, au col arraché, et l'autre toute petite, de forme ovoïde avec col partiellement cassé, reposaient encore sur cette

[1] Les événements ne nous ont pas permis d'accéder de nouveau à ce cercueil, comme nous comptions le faire, pour en relever l'inscription, dont la première copie avait été égarée.

dalle. Une petite coupe de diorite (d. = 12 cm. 2) provenant peut-être de l'enceinte de Zoser a, en outre, été recueillie dans le déblai (fig. 15).

Le second et le troisième puits vers le Sud, guère plus profonds que le premier, n'ont livré aucun objet.

Au Nord du puits d'Icheti, deux autres puits sont encore placés entre la fondation de l'enceinte de Zoser et le massif de brique crue où avaient été encastrées les stèles d'Icheti et des membres probables de sa famille.

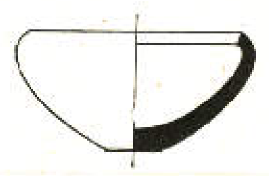


Fig. 15.

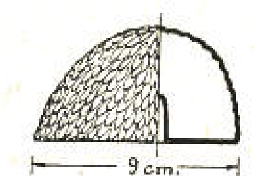


Fig. 16. — Petit tas de grains.

Dans les déblais recouvrant les embouchures de ces puits nous avons retrouvé quelques fragments de la stèle d'Icheti, un bloc appartenant à la partie supérieure du panneau Nord de sa chapelle (pl. IV, à gauche), ainsi que des éléments du panneau Sud (pl. V, *a, b, c*).

Le vidage du premier puits à partir de celui d'Icheti livra encore à sa partie supérieure un important fragment de sa stèle et un petit tas de grains simulé en pierre calcaire (fig. 16). Ce petit tas présentant une petite mortaise cylindrique à sa face inférieure plane devait appartenir au modèle de cuisine dont nous avons déjà signalé les moules à gâteaux ou à pains, les plateaux circulaires, le récipient tronconique, ainsi que, peut-être, la petite statuette de femme agenouillée (pl. XI, *b*, et XII) découverts dans le *serdab*. Aucun autre objet notable ne fut ensuite recueilli ni dans le fond du puits, ni dans le suivant.

Par contre, le dégagement des abords immédiats de ces différents puits permit la découverte de plusieurs stèles et linteaux inscrits, qui devaient avoir trouvé place dans les différentes niches encadrant celle de la stèle d'Icheti (voir notre plan, pl. I). Du Sud au Nord, nous aurions eu ainsi vraisemblablement dans ces niches :

a) la petite stèle de la dame , Isi (l. = 0 m. 345 ; h. = 0 m. 58) ;

b) la stèle de la dame , Sedekhi (h. = 0 m. 63 ; hauteur tronquée) ; avec un linteau à son nom également (l. = 0 m. 94 ; h. = 0 m. 21) ;

c) la stèle de la dame , Setet (l. = 0 m. 80 ; h. = 1 m. 118) ; celle-ci ayant dû probablement se trouver immédiatement à la gauche de la chapelle d'Icheti ;

d) une stèle recouverte d'un enduit de plâtre (l. = 0 m. 70 ; h. = 1 m. 27) où se lit difficilement le nom du propriétaire. Celui-ci semble être [1], que nous retrouvons d'autre part sur une stèle plus importante (voir ci-après, p. 249 et pl. XXII, *b*).

Voici la transcription de ces différentes inscriptions.

a) Stèle de la dame Isi (pl. V, *d*).

Encadrement.

En haut : (←)

« Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis : que l'offrande funéraire soit donnée à la béatifiée. »

à gauche : (↓)

« parente du roi, prophétesse d'Hathor béatifiée... »

à droite : (↓)

« la béatifiée auprès du grand Dieu... »

b) Stèle et linteau de la dame Sedekhi [2] (pl. XX, *b* et *c*).

[1] Une vérification eût été nécessaire ; les circonstances ne l'ont pas permise.

[2] Les bras de la femme sont relevés à hauteur de son visage. — Cette observation s'applique à tous les exemples du nom de la dame Sedekhi.

Encadrement

En haut : (←)

«Offrande funéraire à l'unique Ornement Royal, parente du roi, prophétesse d'Hathor, la béatifiée Sedekhi».

Montant gauche : (→)

«L'unique Ornement Royal, la parente du Roi, prophétesse d'Hathor, béatifiée auprès de... »

Montant droit : (→)

«La parente du roi, prophétesse d'Hathor, béatifiée auprès d'Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans [l'Oasis]... ...»

Stèle

Encadrement

En haut : (←)

A gauche : (→)

«Privilège que donne le roi et privilège que donne Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis : offrande funéraire à l'unique Ornement royal, la parente du roi, prophétesse d'Hathor, ... [béatifiée auprès de] sa [souveraine], Sedekhi.»

Tableau : (←)

«Millier de pains, millier de bières, millier de bœufs, millier de volaille à l'Ornement Royal Sedekhi.»

Linteau de la prêtresse d'Hathor (←)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Osiris, seigneur de Busiris : qu'il soit fait une offrande funéraire à l'unique Ornement royal, parente du roi, prophétesse d'Hathor, Sedekhi.»

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sacrée : qu'elle soit ensevelie magnifiquement dans son tombeau de la nécropole,

comme une béatifiée auprès d'Anubis en toutes ses places, la féale auprès de sa souveraine, Sedekhi.»

c) Stèle de la dame Setet, (pl. XX, c).

Encadrement

En haut : (←)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sainte : que l'offrande funéraire soit faite à l'Ornement Royal, Setet.»

A gauche : (→)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, dans toutes ses places : que l'offrande funéraire soit faite à l'unique Ornement Royal, la béatifiée ...»

A droite : (→)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Osiris, seigneur de Busiris : que l'offrande funéraire soit faite à l'unique Ornement Royal, béatifiée auprès d'Osiris, seigneur de [Busiris], Setet.»

Stèle elle-même

Fronton : (←)

sic

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne : offrande funéraire à ... ... la béatifiée Setet.»

Jambage de gauche : (→)

«L'unique Ornement Royal, l'auguste ... ... la béatifiée Setet.»

Jambage de droite : (→)

«L'auguste ... ..., béatifiée auprès d'Osiris, Setet.»

Tableau

Au-dessus de l'autel chargé de pains : (←)

«Millier de pains, millier de bières, millier d'oies, millier de pigeons, à ... ... Setet.»

Sous le tableau (←)

«L'unique Ornement Royal... ...»

De chaque côté de l'ouverture de la porte.

A gauche (→)

«La béatifiée auprès ... ...»

A droite (→)

«La béatifiée auprès d'Osiris ...»

Outre ces éléments, notons encore la découverte de deux linteaux inscrits, dont un seul est complet. Celui-ci (pl. XX, *d*) est au nom de Imbi (l. = o m. 94 ; h. = o m. 305) de qui nous avons également recueilli deux fragments d'un jambage où apparaissent les deux dernières lettres de son nom.

Quant au second linteau (pl. VI, *b*), dont il ne subsiste qu'un fragment (l. = o m. 44 ; h. = o m. 30) il est au nom de Iqeri et de sa femme Khoutenba.

En voici les transcriptions :

Linteau de Imbi (pl. XX, *d*).

En haut (←)

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sacrée : qu'il soit fait une offrande funéraire au Premier sous le roi, directeur de grenier, béatifié auprès du grand Dieu, Imbi.»

De droite à gauche : (→)

1°

«Le Premier sous le roi, le béatifié Imbi.»

2°

«Le directeur de grenier, le béatifié Imbi.»

3° [hieroglyphs][1]

«L'assistant de grenier, affecté à l'entrepôt, Imbi.»

4° [hieroglyphs]

«Le Premier sous le roi, le béatifié auprès du grand Dieu, Imbi.»

5° [hieroglyphs]

«L'inspecteur des scribes, chef de tribu sacerdotale, Imbi.»

Notons également un jambage sculpté sur deux faces, et donnant la silhouette du mort surmontée des deux dernières lettres de son nom, [hieroglyphs]. Il doit s'agir d'Imbi, probablement.

Fragment de linteau d'Iqeri (pl. VI, *b*).

Au milieu ([hieroglyph])

[hieroglyphs]

«Le béatifié auprès d'Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sainte, Iqeri.»

Devant la femme ([hieroglyph])

[hieroglyphs]

«Sa femme Khoutenba.»

II. TOMBE DE NEFER-KHOUOU-PTAH

Les recherches se portèrent ensuite au massif de brique crue auquel étaient adossées les stèles que nous venons d'étudier, et qui bordait vers l'ouest la rangée des six puits correspondant à ces stèles.

Ce massif presque carré sur une dizaine de mètres de côté (voir pl. I), contient plusieurs chambres ou couloirs qui n'ont pas tous appartenu au même plan d'origine. L'entrée est à l'Ouest, à 2 mètres de l'angle Nord-Ouest; elle est arquée et ouvre sur une petite chambre A, oblongue

[1] Les signes [hieroglyph] et [hieroglyph] sont incomplètement gravés sans doute par suite d'une cristallisation dans la pierre.

et voûtée (pl. XXI, *a*), communiquant par un passage arqué avec une antichambre B à peu près carrée et également voûtée, donnant accès vers le Sud, encore par une porte arquée à une belle salle d'offrandes C, à décor peint sur enduit (pl. XXI, *b*). Cette salle mesure 3 m. 15 × 1 m. 72. Sa paroi occidentale est occupée par une magnifique stèle de calcaire teintée en imitation de granit rose (pl. XXII) et gravée en creux d'hiéroglyphes peints en jaune. Le tableau au-dessus de la fausse-porte est en relief (pl. XXIII), et les offrandes qui y sont figurées amoncelées devant la table du défunt sont encore joliment revêtues de couleur bleue, verte et orange.

Cette stèle est celle de [hieroglyphs] «Nefer-khouou-Ptah, de qui le beau nom est Teti».

Titres : [hieroglyphs] «Comte»

[hieroglyphs] «Ami unique»

[hieroglyphs] «Inspecteur royal»

[hieroglyphs] «Chancelier du roi du Nord»

[hieroglyphs] «Prêtre-lecteur»

[hieroglyphs] «Directeur de la moitié (de l'administration)».

[hieroglyphs] (var. [hieroglyphs]) [hieroglyphs] «Gouverneur du domaine de la pyramide Men-Nefer de Pépi (Ier)»

[hieroglyphs] «Directeur des missions du domaine divin».

Au fronton de la stèle, trois lignes portant les «proscynèmes» d'usage à Anubis et à Osiris, et la mention des fêtes : ←

1. [hieroglyphs]
2. [hieroglyphs]
3. [hieroglyphs]

Sur le tableau (v. pl. XXIII) : ←

[hieroglyphs]

Au-dessous du tableau :

[hieroglyphs]

De chaque côté, quatre colonnes remplies par les titres du personnage avec, dans celles de droite, mention de ses féautés envers le grand Dieu et Osiris.

A droite ([hieroglyphs])

(horizont.)

1. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]
2. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]
3. [hieroglyphs]
4. [hieroglyphs]

A gauche ([hieroglyphs])

(horizont.)

1. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]
2. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]
3. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]
4. [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs]

La salle des offrandes de Nefer-khouou-Ptah (pl. I, en C) était voûtée en brique crue, de même que les deux petites chambres A et B qui y conduisent. Les amorces de sa voûte subsistaient encore au moment du déblaiement (voir pl. XXI, *b*). Nous avons ensuite, afin de protéger la stèle teintée et les restes de peintures sur enduit recouvrant par place les parois de la salle, reconstitué la voûte en briques crues disposées en rouleaux à lits déversés suivant le procédé égyptien ancien qui permet d'éviter l'emploi des cintres. La salle s'éclairait par un soupirail ménagé

sous la voûte dans le haut de la paroi orientale (en S, pl. XXI, *b*) ; nous avons également complété ce soupirail.

Parmi les quelques représentations conservées, notons principalement celles d'amoncellements de victuailles, ainsi que des scènes de boucherie (voir pl. XXI, *b*, ce qui en subsiste sur la paroi orientale).

III. TOMBE DE SÉBEK-EM-KHENT

Cet ensemble constituant en somme le mastaba de Nefer-khouou-Ptah occupe la partie centrale du massif de brique crue exploré. Mais en poursuivant le déblaiement de ce dernier, nous avons constaté, qu'un second appartement se branchait sur le premier à partir de l'antichambre B, où un passage voûté donne accès vers l'Est à un couloir Nord-Sud D, qui conduit à son extrémité méridionale vers l'Ouest à une chambre E, oblongue d'Est en Ouest, et qui dût constituer une seconde salle d'offrandes. Celle-ci a été beaucoup plus ravagée que celle de Nefer-khouou-Ptah. La stèle n'y est plus à sa place, mais elle a été retrouvée précipitée dans le puits profond qui se trouve immédiatement à l'Ouest de la Salle E. Cette stèle [1] en calcaire fin, retirée intacte de ce puits après un accident et de sérieuses difficultés, est au nom d'un autre ami unique et chancelier du roi du Nord, également régent du domaine de la pyramide *Men-Nefer* de Pépi [2], Sébek-em-khent dit Sébéky.

Stèle de Sébek-em-khent, [hieroglyphs].

Dimensions : hauteur = 2 m. 20 env. ; largeur = 1 m. 07 env.

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[1] Nous avons déjà publié la photographie de cette stèle dans : *Ann. Serv. Antiq. Ég.*, t. LIII, *Fouilles et travaux divers effectués à Saqqarah de novembre 1951 à juin 1952*, pl. III.

[2] La pyramide *Men-Nefer* est celle de Pépi Ier. D'autre part, sur l'un des jambages de porte inscrits au nom du même Sébek-em-khent et découverts peu après (voir pl. XXIV, *b* et p. 241) ce dernier porte, en outre, le titre d'«inspecteur des prophètes de la pyramide *Men-Ȧnkh* de Neferkare (Pépi II)». Il a donc vécu sous Pépi II, comme Icheti, et pourrait être postérieur à Nefer-khouou-Ptah, dont nous n'avons pas retrouvé d'inscriptions faisant mention de Pépi II.

Encadrement-extérieur.

(*a*) Fronton : (←)

En accolade

(1) «Privilège que donnent le roi et Osiris : qu'il lui soit fait une belle offrande funéraire dans la nécropole comme béatifié auprès du grand Dieu.

(2) [Privilège] que donne Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sacrée : qu'il soit enseveli dans la nécropole.»

En accolade : «Le véritable pacha Sébek-em-khent.»

(*b*) Chambranles (inscriptions identiques). A droite (┬→) et à gauche (←┬) :

«Le pacha, chancelier du roi du Nord, Ami unique, directeur de l'administration, le béatifié Sebek-em-khent.»

Encadrement intérieur.

(*a*) Fronton (←) :

(1) «Le pacha, chancelier du roi du Nord, Ami unique, béatifié auprès du dieu, Sébéky (*diminutif du nom*).»

(*b*) Chambranles :

A gauche (←┬)

«Le gouverneur du domaine de la pyramide Men-Nefer de Pépi (Ier), Ami unique, prêtre-lecteur, directeur de l'administration, Sébek-em-khent».

A droite (┬→)

«Le gouverneur du domaine de la pyramide Men-Nefer de Pépi (Ier), Ami unique, prêtre-lecteur, le béatifié Sébéky.»

Tableau

Dans le champ, au-dessus de la table d'offrandes (←) :

«Millier de pains, millier de bières, millier de bœufs, millier d'oies à Sébek-em-khent!»

Au-dessous du tableau (←) :

«Le béatifié Sébek-em-khent.»

De chaque côté de l'ouverture de la porte :

A gauche (←┬) :

«Le pacha, directeur de l'administration, le béatifié Sébek-em-khent.»

A droite (┬→) :

«Le pacha, directeur de l'administration, le béatifié auprès du grand Dieu, Sébek-em-khent.»

Avant l'extraction de cette stèle, nous avions retiré du même puits un grand linteau cassé en deux (pl. XXIV, *a*) et présentant une légère lacune précisément à l'endroit du nom dont apparaissent cependant les deux premières lettres, ce qui ne laisse guère de doute sur son attribution. Après la stèle furent encore extraits du puits la plus grande partie des deux jambages (pl. XXIV, *b* et *c*) brisés en de nombreux fragments, qui devaient porter le linteau précité. Voici la description de ce linteau et de ces jambages en calcaire fin de Tourah.

LINTEAU ET JAMBAGES DE LA CHAPELLE DE SÉBEK-EM-KHENT

Le linteau, compte tenu de sa cassure, devait mesurer environ 2 m. 10 de long, soit 4 coudées royales. Sa hauteur est de 0 m. 675.

(←) :

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne, qui est dans l'Oasis, seigneur de la Terre Sacrée : qu'il soit enseveli honorablement dans son tombeau de la Nécropole de la montagne [occidentale].»

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Osiris, seigneur de Busiris : qu'il lui soit fait une belle offrande funéraire dans la nécropole comme béatifié auprès de Ptah-Sok[ar-Osiris].»

«Privilège que donnent le roi et Anubis qui préside au kiosque divin : qu'il circule sur les beaux chemins, après une très belle vieillesse, comme béatifié auprès du grand Dieu.»

«Le pacha, chancelier du roi du Nord, directeur de l'administration, Ami unique, Prêtre-lecteur, béatifié auprès du grand Dieu, Sébe[k-em-khent].»

«Le chef des messagers du domaine divin, le premier après le roi, qui faisait ce que son maître louait...»

«Ô vivants qui êtes sur terre, si vous voulez que le roi vive, dites...»

«... ... ... S'il n'y a rien dans vos mains, alors dites ... ...»

Jambage droit : (→)

«L'inspecteur des prophètes de la pyramide Men-Ânkh de Neferkarê, le pacha, chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte, directeur de l'administration, le béatifié Sébek-em-khent.»

Jambage gauche : (→)

«Le gouverneur du domaine de la Pyramide Men-Nefer [de Pépi I], le pacha, chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte, directeur de l'administration, Ami unique, Prêtre-lecteur, Sébek-em-khent».



Fig. 17. — Table d'offrandes.

Notons encore, au cours du déblaiement des abords des puits de Sébek-em-khent et de Nefer-khouou-Ptah, la trouvaille de deux petites tables d'offrandes mesurant une quarantaine de centimètres de long sur 25 cm. de large. L'une d'elles (fig. 17) est inscrite, mais de façon très négligée; l'inscription se termine par un nom dont seule la première lettre [hiéroglyphe] est sûre, et qui serait peut-être Sébek-em-khent, quoique la finale [hiéroglyphes]

n'apparaisse plus et ne semble pas même y avoir jamais été gravée. Voici cette inscription :

(horizont.) ←

. . .

(vertical.)

«Une faveur que donnent le roi et Anubis qui est sur sa montagne : qu'il ait une «sortie-à-la-voix» dans son tombeau de la nécropole! Qu'[il] reçoive . . . . l'*imakhou* Sébek-em (?) . . .»

Le puits de Sébek-em-khent étant fort profond, nous avions dû, provisoirement, le 17 février 1950, en interrompre le vidage au delà d'une quinzaine de mètres faute de cordages assez longs. Ce travail, qui ne put être repris avec les moyens nécessaires que le 16 novembre 1951, livra alors les objets suivants :

A 18 mètres de profondeur environ, un fragment d'une petite tablette d'albâtre avec liste d'offrandes gravée (h. = 8 cm. 3 ; longueur indéterminée).

A 21 mètres, le 26 novembre, plusieurs fragments d'une fine statue accroupie, à la figure mutilée, portant gravé sur son socle le nom de Sébek-em-khent précédé des titres de gouverneur de domaine et d'ami unique, ainsi que peu après deux autres statues également brisées du même personnage ; celles-ci sont figurées assises et portent la même inscription. Ayant déjà publié des photographies des principaux fragments de ces statues en cours de reconstitution, nous prions le lecteur de vouloir bien s'y reporter [1].

La statue accroupie reconstituée (pl. XXV, *a*, à gauche) mesure 31 cm. 5 de hauteur ; elle a la jambe et le genou gauche au sol et le pied correspondant rejeté derrière le pied droit, pose très rare dans la statuaire

[1] Cf. *Ann. Serv. Antiq.*, t. LIII, *Fouilles et travaux divers...*, pl. IV à VI.

égyptienne [1]. Sébek-em-khent est coiffé de la perruque longue aux tresses disposées horizontalement au-dessus du front avec la raie médiane à peine esquissée par une légère dépression. Il est paré d'un large collier et de bracelets et porte un pagne plissé [2].

De ses deux statues assises la plus petite (h. = 45 cm. 5) est aussi la plus finement exécutée (pl. XXV, *a* et *b*). Elle porte les mêmes parures que la statue accroupie, mais elle offre la particularité d'avoir les joues et le menton sertis par une sorte de jugulaire qui aurait vraisemblablement servi à maintenir sa perruque [3].

La seconde statue assise (h. = 49 cm. 5), moins morcelée que les deux précédentes, est par contre très fissurée (pl. XXV, *a*, à droite) ; elle a, en outre, une partie du visage mutilée. Sébek-em-khent est vêtu là d'un simple pagne non plissé, et il ne porte aucune parure. Sa perruque, cependant, est plus joliment traitée que les deux autres avec des tresses plus fines et une raie médiane nettement accusée ; elle se retrousse, en outre, légèrement sur les épaules suivant une courbure harmonieuse [4]. Cette silhouette particulière se retrouve, mais avec moins de souplesse, sur la perruque de la statue accroupie, et il en fut probablement de même pour la première statue assise, où les extrémités de la perruque sont mutilées.

Ces trois statues ainsi reconstituées par nos soins sont exposées maintenant au Musée Egyptien du Caire (*J. E.* 89599, 89600 et 89601).

[1] Il convient de citer 4 exemples publiés par Heerma van Voss, *Een ongewoon Egyptisch kurkbeeld*, dans *Jaarbericht «ex Oriente Lux»*, n° 13, pl. LXIV et LXV. Mais dans ces quatre cas la position des jambes est l'inverse de celle de notre statue, car au lieu du gauche c'est le genou droit qui est au sol ; en outre, les positions des mains et des bras sont toutes différentes.

[2] Cf. *Ann. Serv. Antiq.*, t. LIII, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

[3] Cf. *ibidem*, pl. V, 2, 4 et 5.

[4] J. Sainte Fare Garnot nous signale la même particularité sur une statue du début de la VIe dyn. découverte à Edfou, celle du nomarque Meri-Rê-Nefer surnommé Qar (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 43776) publiée par W. St. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pl. 26 *a*, ainsi qu'en croquis par Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, III, fiche 494. Il n'est pas impossible que cette statue assez finement travaillée dans du calcaire, que l'on ne trouve pas à Edfou, ait été exécutée dans un atelier memphite.

Après ces pièces majeures, d'autres objets ne tardèrent pas à apparaître :

1° Une petite table d'offrandes en calcaire de Tourah (voir fig. 18), de contour général demi-circulaire [1] (d. = 20 cm.). La partie demi-circulaire constitue une auge où avait été coulé et modelé du plâtre sous



Fig. 18. — Petite table d'offrandes de Sébek-em-khent contenant des grains de blé modelés dans un coulis de plâtre.

forme d'épis et de grains de blé. Sur la face horizontale, du côté rectiligne de cette table, est sculpté en relief, entre deux petits bassins rectangulaires, le signe [hieroglyph] inversé, comme à l'ordinaire, par rapport à l'inscription qui y est gravée. Il s'agit de l'habituelle énumération des principales catégories de milliers d'offrandes, avec en-dessous le nom du destinataire, «le béatifié Sébek-em-khent». Un petit escalier de quatre marches est adossé au milieu de ce côté de la table, et, de part et d'autre de cet escalier, commence sur la face verticale du contour l'inscription répétée symétriquement de la titulature du personnage :

[hieroglyphs] (var., à droite, : [hieroglyphs]) [hieroglyphs]

[1] Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 89602.

Cette table d'offrandes était cassée en quatre morceaux, et une notable portion du rebord incurvé inscrit manquait. Deux fragments de ce rebord seront retrouvés ensuite à l'entrée de la chambre sépulcrale.

2° Une seconde tablette d'offrandes (fig. 19) en calcaire blanc plus petite, rectangulaire et anépigraphe (long. = 25 cm. 5 ; larg. = 11 cm. ; h. = 6 cm. 5).

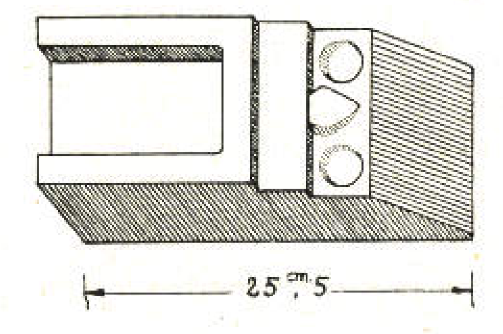


Fig. 19. — Tablette d'offrandes.

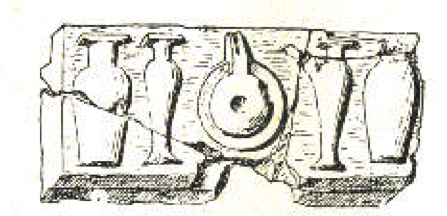


Fig. 20. — Tablette à libations.

3° Deux fragments d'une petite tablette rectangulaire en calcaire jaune, qui a pu être complétée ensuite (fig. 20) avec indication en relief des cinq vases à libations (long. = 11 cm. 3 ; larg. = 5 cm. 8 ; ép. = 2 cm.).

4° Un petit bloc rectangulaire de calcaire blanc de 9 cm. × 5 cm. (fig. 21) présentant sur sa face supérieure deux saillies cylindriques peintes l'une en noir et l'autre en rouge, et simulant les godets d'un écritoire.

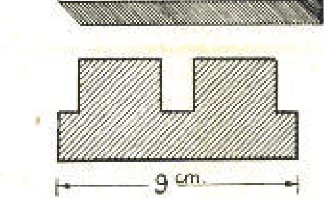


Fig. 21. — Simulacre d'écritoire.

5° Deux petites poupées à peine ébauchées en calcaire blanc (h. = 12 cm.).

6° Petit bloc de calcaire fin peint en rouge, simulant une pile de moules à pains (h. = 10 cm. env.), semblable à celui retrouvé dans le *serdab* d'Icheti (voir pl. XI, *b*).

7° Une petite oie troussée en albâtre (l. = 11 cm.) semblable à celles découvertes dans la chambre sépulcrale d'Icheti (voir pl. XVI).

8° Enfin, quelques petites bribes de feuilles d'or.

Le fond du puits fut atteint à une profondeur de 23 cm. 70. La chambre assez vaste et manifestement violée ouvre sur la paroi occidentale du puits. Elle avait comporté un décor et des inscriptions sur enduit qui sont tombés. La couche rocheuse étant fort mauvaise et des éboulements menaçant de se produire nous avons dû renoncer à poursuivre le déblaiement qui avait livré, outre les deux fragments inscrits du rebord de la table d'offrandes demi-circulaire (fig. 18) décrite ci-dessus, quelques menus objets :

un petit disque fin en albâtre, probablement un couvercle de vase : d. = 8 cm. 3, ép. = 0 cm. 2.

des fragments de petits simulacres d'outils en cuivre;

un fragment complétant la petite tablette de calcaire jaune (fig. 20).

Le 6 décembre, fut entamé le vidage du puits situé immédiatement au Nord du précédent, et qui, par sa situation immédiatement à l'Ouest de la stèle de Nefer-khouou-Ptah, devait certainement donner accès à la chambre sépulcrale de ce dernier. Ce puits, très large à son embouchure où il mesure 2 m. 80 environ de côté, se trouve réduit peu après à 2 m. 10, les deux parois orientale et méridionale demeurant continues et les deux autres seules formant banquettes (voir le plan pl. I). Dans le remplissage fait de terre, de sable et de débris de pierre apparurent successivement les objets suivants :

1° Statuette de femme agenouillée (hauteur mesurée parallèlement au corps = 26 cm. 5) en bois stuqué présentant encore des traces de peinture jaune. Les bras manquent ainsi que le socle. Le dos du crâne est assez saillant, particularité déjà rencontrée sur plusieurs des statues de bois découvertes dans le puits d'Icheti (voir en particulier pl. XV).

2° Statuette accroupie au corps très allongé (h. = 21 cm. 5) en bois présentant quelques traces de couleur. Même particularité de crâne que

la précédente. Cette statuette repose sur une planchette formant socle où se voit la trace d'un autre objet.

3° Statuette de femme debout, mais fléchissant le corps en avant (bois assez crevassé). La tête existe mais est détachée. Hauteur mesurée parallèlement au corps avec la tête = 30 cm. Les pieds et les bras manquent. La femme est vêtue simplement d'une courte jupe allant de la ceinture jusqu'au-dessus des genoux.

4° Deux pieds en bois avec les orteils, mais sans les talons. Ils sont de tailles inégales et ont appartenu à des statues de dimensions comparables à celles trouvées dans le puits et le *serdab* d'Icheti.

5° Un second fragment de la petite tablette d'offrandes, dont le premier avait été trouvé dans le puits de Sébek-em-khent. Ils ne se raccordent pas, la partie centrale faisant encore défaut.

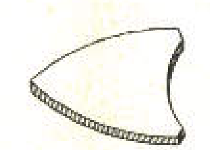


Fig. 22. — Portion d'œil (éch. 1/2).

6° Deux pierres blanches polies à glace (fig. 22) ayant fait partie d'un ou deux yeux incrustés sans doute dans un cercueil ou sarcophage de bois.

7° Statuette d'homme accroupi, un genou au sol, sans les bras (h. = 14 cm. 3). Bois présentant des traces de couleur.

8° Enfin, quelques amulettes en faïence bleue : un œil, une sorte de petit taupin, et un tout petit objet perforé indéfinissable.

A 17 m. 20 de profondeur, le plafond de la chambre apparut sous la paroi occidentale du puits, et le fond de ce dernier fut atteint à 19 m. 35. La chambre sépulcrale, oblongue dans le sens Nord-Sud (voir fig. 23), mesure 5 m. 57 sur 3 m. 10 en moyenne. Sa hauteur est de 2 m. 36. Elle contient un gros sarcophage en calcaire monolithe formant cuve de 3 m. 14 × 1 m. 50, mesurée extérieurement, et de 1 m. 42 de haut; la cuve est fermée par un couvercle également monolithe de 0 m. 52 d'épaisseur. Les violateurs avaient brisé la paroi méridionale de la cuve pour en extraire le cercueil et la momie qui ont disparu. Aucune trace d'inscriptions ni sur le sarcophage, ni sur les parois de la chambre qui sont brutes. Les seuls objets recueillis dans la chambre furent 4 vases

de calcaire blanc (deux présentant encore des couvercles plats) dont l'évidement n'avait été qu'à peine amorcé[1] ainsi qu'une grosse coupe de terre cuite.

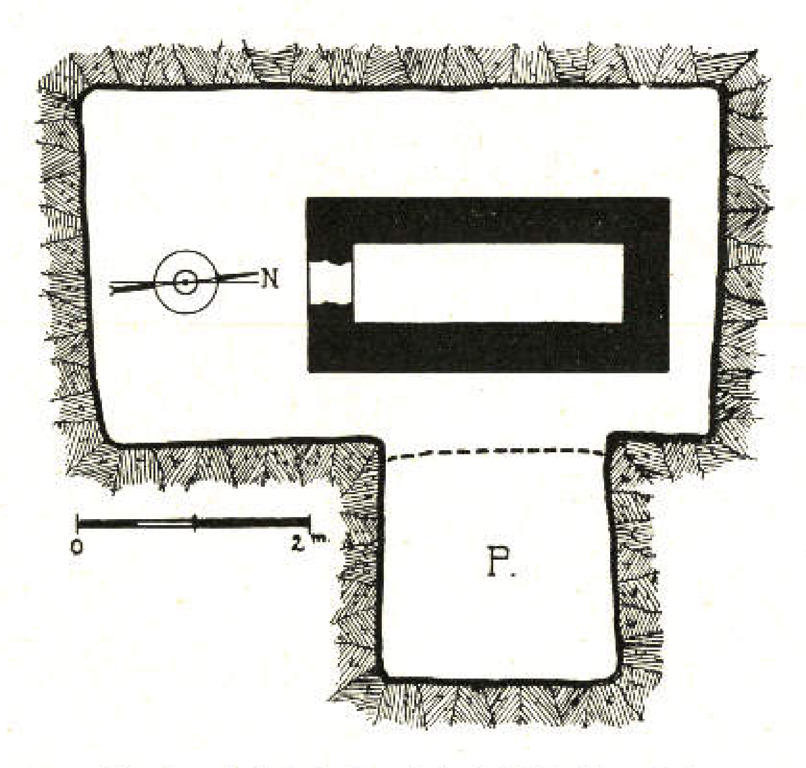


Fig. 23. — Puits et chambre sépulcrale de Nefer-khouou-Ptah.

En complétant le dégagement du mastaba, nous avons découvert en F (pl. I) dans le mur épais qui le limite vers le Sud (et au Sud du puits de Sébek-em-khent) un cercueil de bois conservé portant une bande d'hiéroglyphes inintelligibles, et contre ce cercueil deux petites momies de nouveaux-nés[2]. Il s'agit évidemment là d'une sépulture de très basse époque.

[1] Nous en avons déjà publié le schéma dans *Ann. Serv. Antiq.*, t. LIII, *op. cit.*, p. 158, fig. 4.

[2] Cf. *ibidem*, fig. 5.

IV. TOMBE D'ÂNKHI

Enfin, dans la région Sud-Est du massif du mastaba, et en partie à l'extrémité du couloir D, se trouve une petite chapelle rectangulaire en brique crue revêtue d'un placage de pierre comportant un passage d'accès vers l'Est (voir le plan pl. I).

Cette chapelle était couverte par une voûte très aplatie faite d'une seule couche de brique crue (voir pl. XXII, *b*). Il s'agit là d'un très petit mastaba qui aura été emmuré et recouvert par les additions et transformations apportées au mastaba voisin de Nefer-khouou-Ptah probablement par Sébek-em-khent. Il contient encore une stèle renversée dont le propriétaire Ânkhi, « de qui le beau nom est Iti», était parent d'un roi malheureusement non précisé. Nous verrons, dans la description de la stèle donnée ci-dessous, qu'il y est fait mention d'un dieu *Khenti-iaoutef* qui bénéficia d'une consécration de monument de la part du roi Sahouré. Ce petit tombeau ne pourrait-il donc pas remonter à la Ve dynastie? Sa stèle[1], qui dut comporter deux dalles juxtaposées mais inégales, est incomplète du côté droit, car seule la plus grande de celles-ci est conservée (voir pl. XXII, *b*). Sa hauteur est de 1 m. 32 environ; elle est en calcaire peint.

Stèle d'Ânkhi

Nom : «Ânkhi, de qui le beau nom est Iti».

Titres : «Parent du roi».

«Directeur de la moitié (de l'administration)».

«Directeur de l'atelier-*wʿb·t*».

Au fronton de la stèle, proscynèmes à Anubis et à Osiris : ←

1.

2.

[1] Cette stèle a déjà été reproduite en photographie de façon plus complète dans *Ann. Serv. Antiq.*, t. LIII, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII.

Dans le tableau : ←

Au-dessous du tableau : ←

Sur le rouleau : ←

Les colonnes verticales, qui se répètent en symétrie axiale, énumèrent les féautés du défunt par rapport aux dieux suivants : en partant du centre :

1. Anubis.
2. Khenti-iaoutef [1].
3. Anubis, «son seigneur», et Ptah-Sokaris.
4. Osiris et le grand Dieu, seigneur de l'Occident.

1.
2.
3.
4.

V. CONCLUSION. — MODIFICATIONS SUCCESSIVES APPORTÉES À CE GROUPE DE TOMBES

Il est probable que l'édifice le plus ancien fut ce tout petit mastaba de brique crue à revêtement de calcaire fin, qui appartint à Ânkhi, «parent du roi», puisque ce personnage pourrait avoir vécu sous la Ve dynastie en raison de la mention du dieu, *Khenti-iaoutef*. Ce mastaba aurait été ensuite enrobé dans le groupe des tombes de la VIe dynastie. La succession de celles-ci demeure cependant un peu confuse.

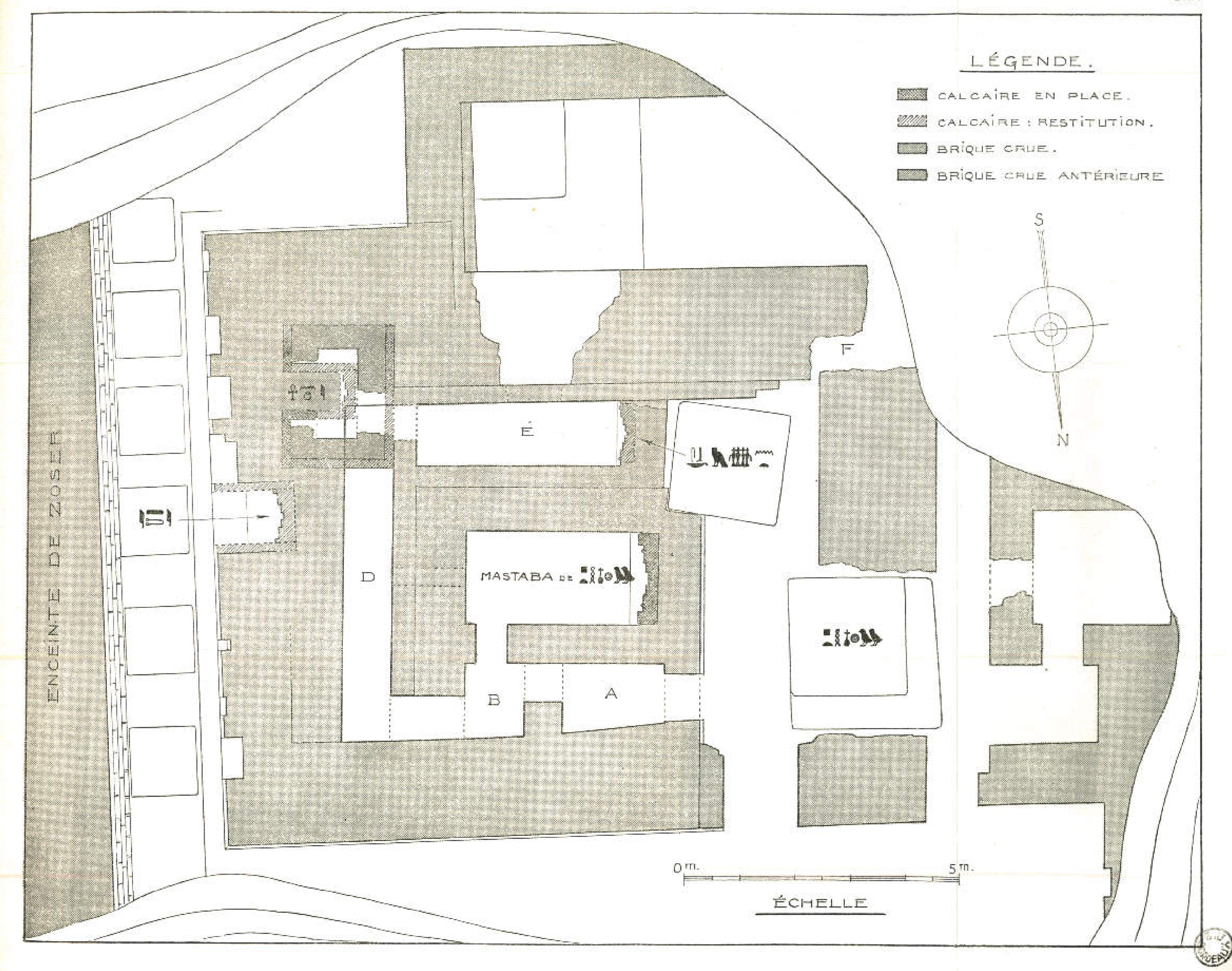
[1] «Celui qui préside à ses fonctionnaires (nisbé de *i:w t?*)», dieu connu par quelques inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire (Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 112-113 et 415). La Pierre de Palerme fait mention de ce dieu comme ayant été, de la part de Sahourê, l'objet d'une consécration de monument avec donation de terrain dans le nome memphite. (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 69).

Si l'on se base sur les titres des personnages, il semble que Nefer-khouou-Ptah pourrait être le plus ancien, car dans ses titres le seul nom royal qui apparaisse est celui de Meri-Rê Pepi (Ier), du domaine de la pyramide duquel il fut gouverneur. Mais nous ignorons s'il exerça ces fonctions sous le règne même de ce roi, ou plus tard.

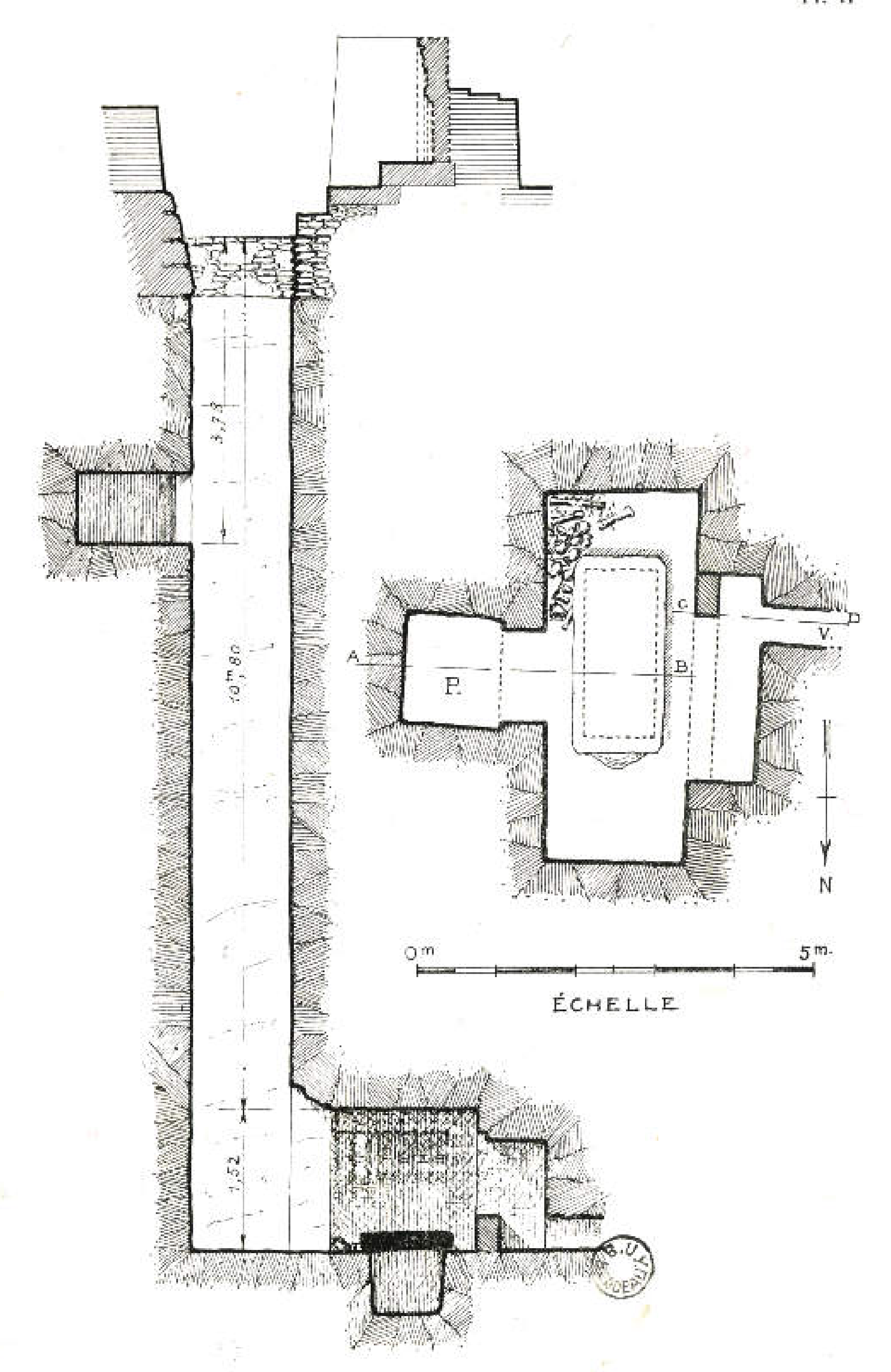
Au contraire, les deux autres personnages, Icheti et Sébek-em-khent, ont manifestement vécu sous Pépi II. L'un et l'autre portent, en effet, non seulement le titre de «gouverneur du domaine de la pyramide de Meri-Rê (Pepi Ier)», comme Nefer-khouou-Ptah, mais aussi celui de «gouverneur du domaine de celle de Neferka-Rê (Pepi II)» pour Icheti, et celui d'«inspecteur des prophètes de la pyramide de Neferka-Rê» pour Sébek-em-khent. Il semble donc que le premier inhumé ait dû être Nefer-khouou-Ptah dans le mastaba où se trouve sa stèle encore *in situ*, et qu'Icheti avec sa famille, d'une part, et Sébek-em-khent, d'autre part, seraient venus greffer leurs tombes sur ce mastaba. Mais pour en avoir la certitude quelques déblaiements et sondages eussent été encore nécessaires, et depuis la découverte de la dernière de ces tombes en 1952, nous déplorons de n'avoir jamais pu obtenir ni les moyens, ni les autorisations indispensables à ce modeste complément de travail.

De plus, les scellés apposés sur tous les magasins du Service des Antiquités à Saqqarah durant la dernière saison (1955-1956) que nous y avons passée, ne nous ont pas permis d'effectuer diverses vérifications qui s'imposaient sur des pièces provenant de ces tombes et entreposées là. Il nous aurait, en particulier, été sans doute possible d'attribuer à plusieurs des stèles secondaires des membres de la famille d'Icheti leur place respective d'origine sur notre plan (pl. I). Enfin, les événements de l'automne 1956 nous ont empêché d'effectuer, comme nous nous le proposions, les mesures de contrôle manquant encore pour l'achèvement de ce plan qui n'est donc qu'approximatif. Nous nous excusons donc de ces quelques manques ou imperfections dont nous espérons que nos collègues voudront bien ne pas nous tenir rigueur.

Ét. Drioton et J.-Ph. Lauer.



LÉGENDE.
CALCAIRE EN PLACE.
CALCAIRE : RESTITUTION.
BRIQUE CRUE.
BRIQUE CRUE ANTÉRIEURE
S
N
ENCEINTE DE ZOSER
É
F
D
MASTABA DE
B
A
0 m.
5 m.
ÉCHELLE

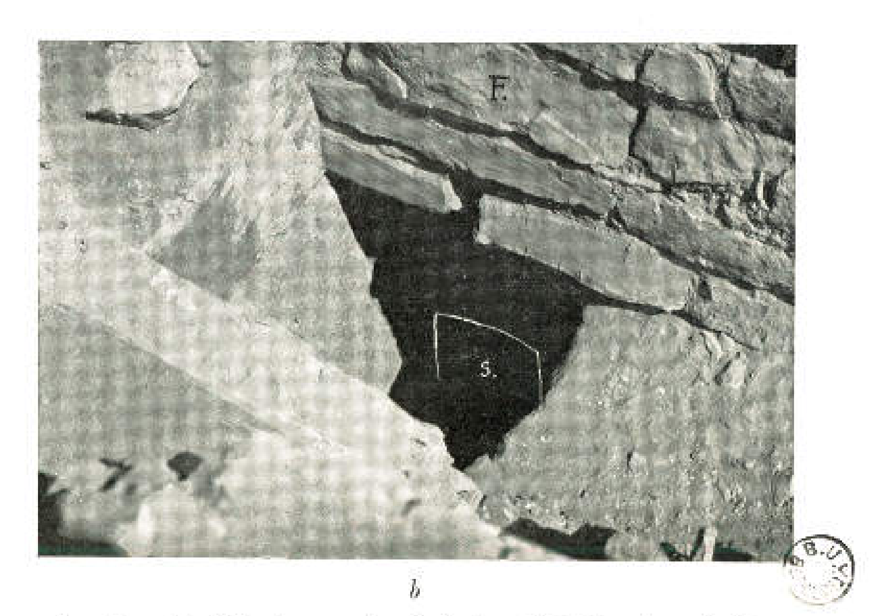


COUPE AB_CD.

Plan et coupe de la tombe d'Icheṭi.



a

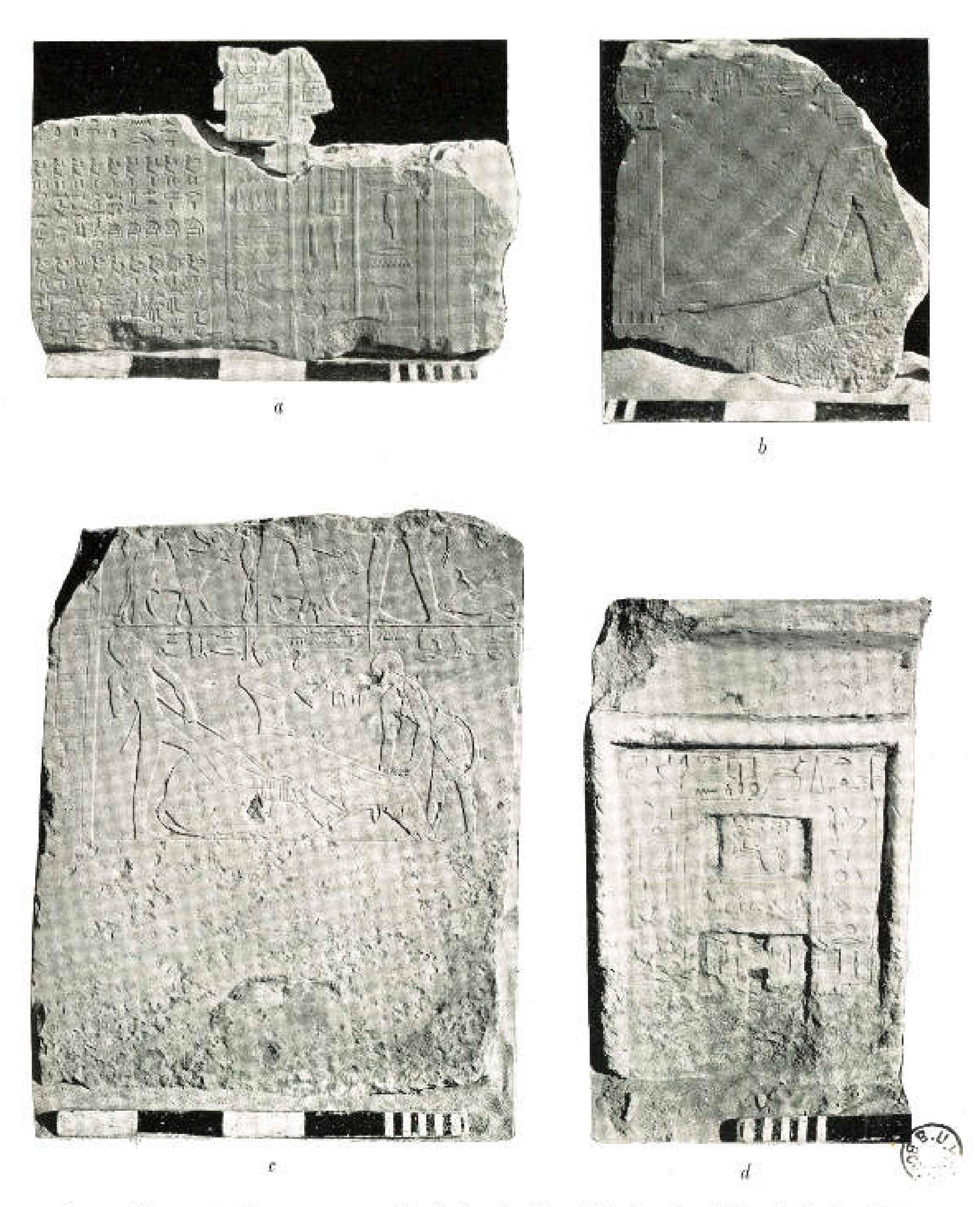


b

a, b. — Le puits d'Icheṭi, contre les fondations F de l'enceinte de Zoser.



Panneau nord de la chapelle d'Icheti.

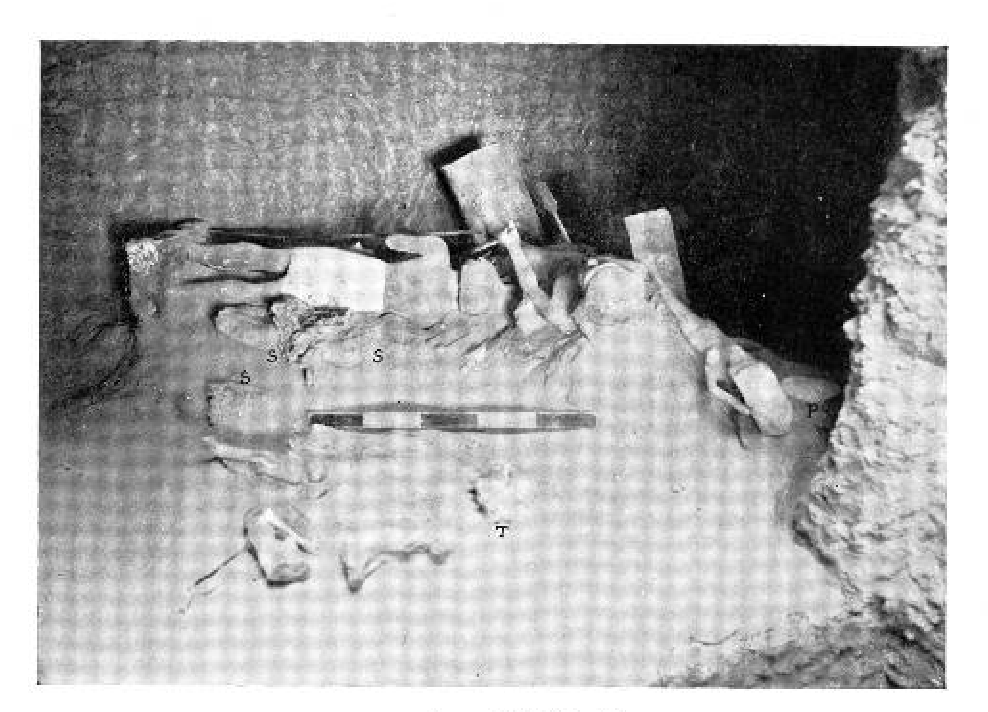


a, b, c. — Fragments du panneau gauche de la chapelle d'Icheṯi. d. — Stèle de la dame Isi.

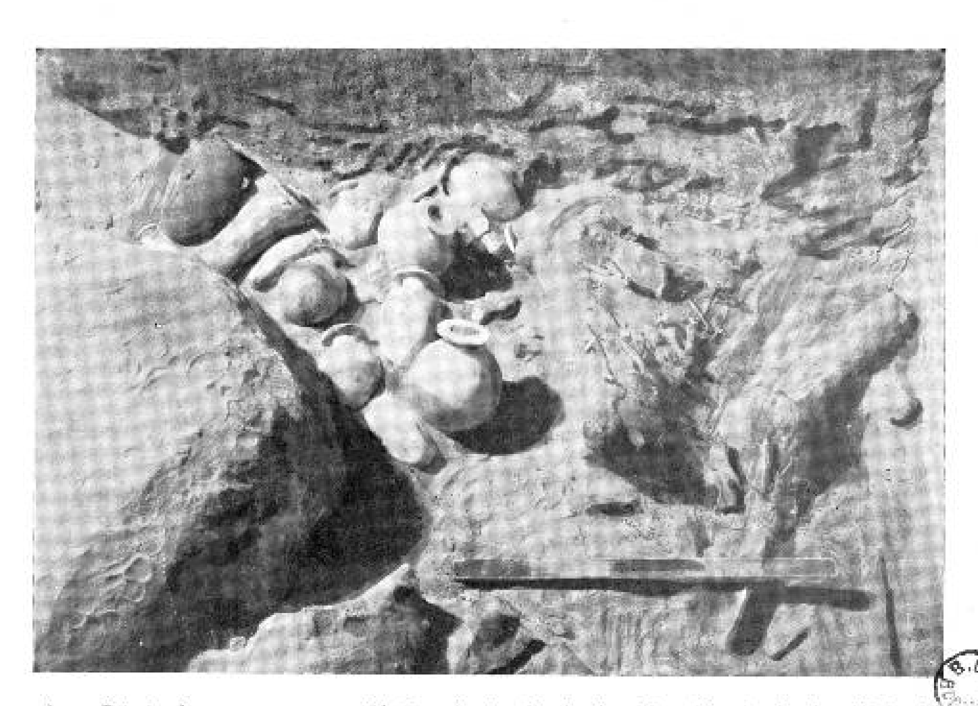


a. — La stèle d'Icheṭi.

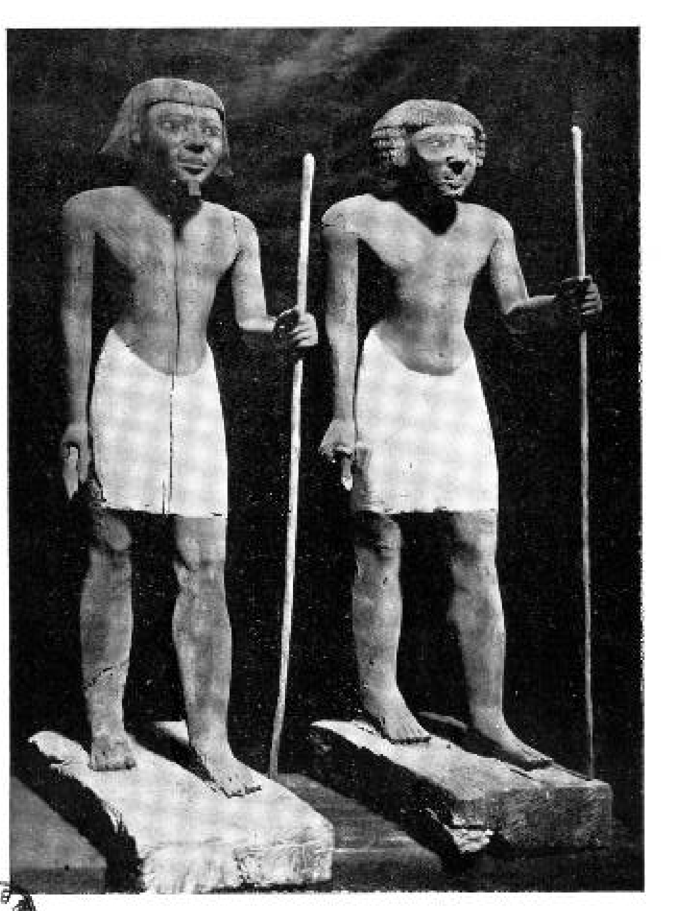
← *b.* — Fragment de linteau d'Iqeri.



a. — Le *serdab* d'Icheṭi.



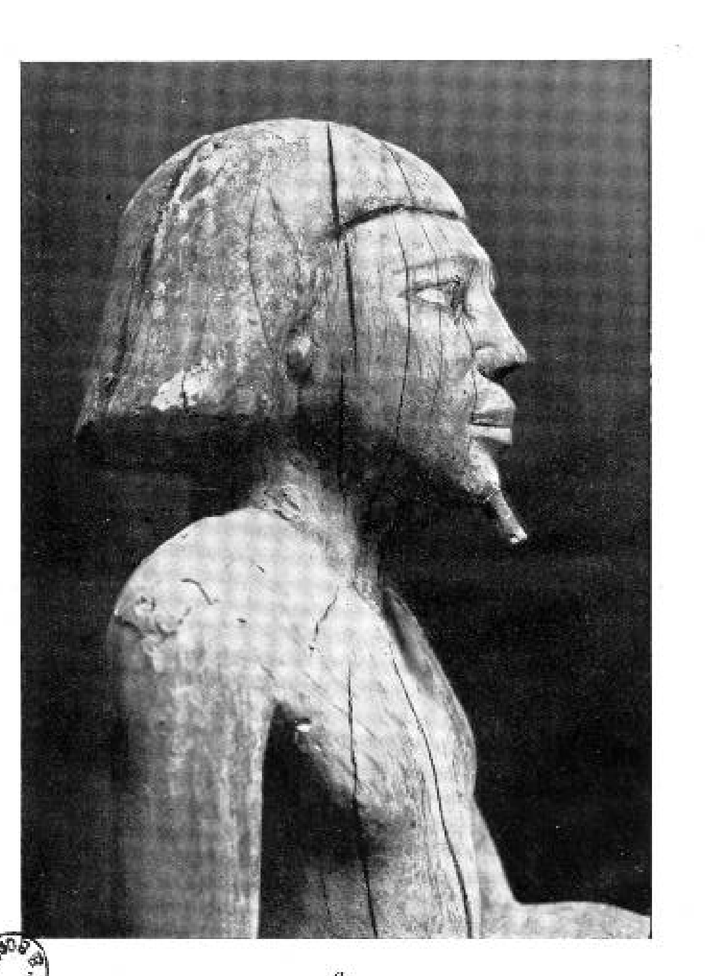
b. — Dépôt de vases et restes d'offrande de viande dans la salle sépulcrale d'Icheṭi.



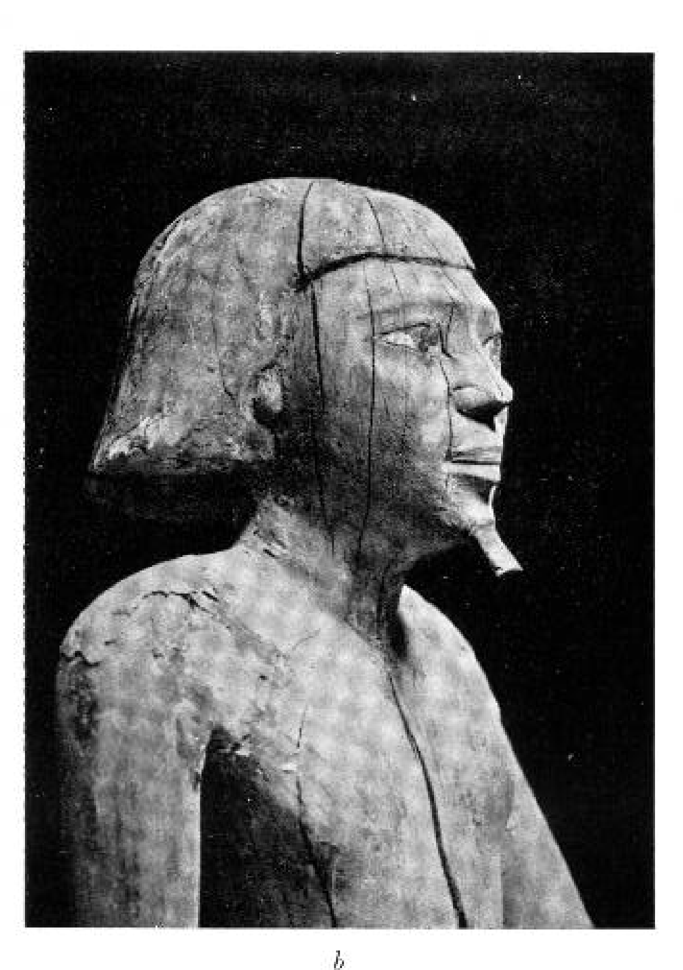
a. — Les deux statues d'Icheṭi.



b. — Celle de gauche, vue de profil.



a

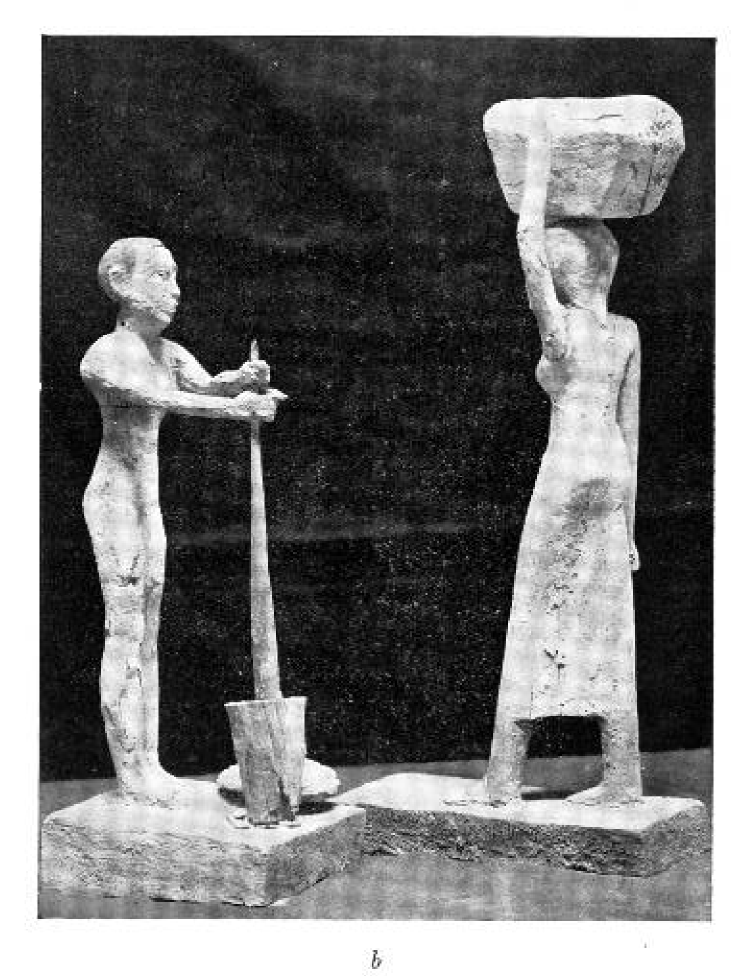


b

a, b. — Buste de la meilleure statue d'Icheṯi.

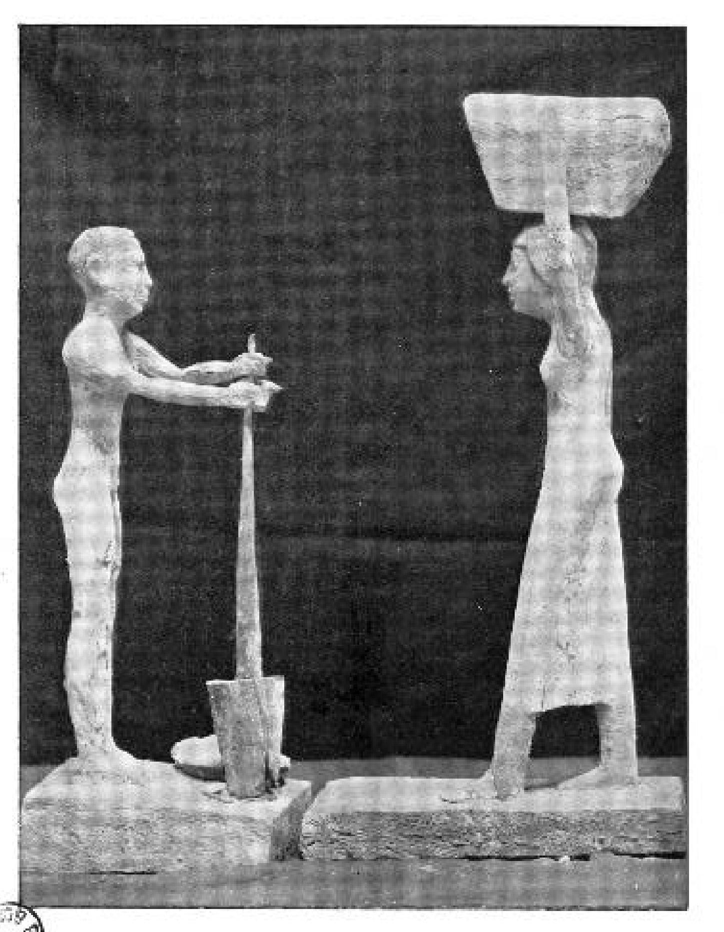


a

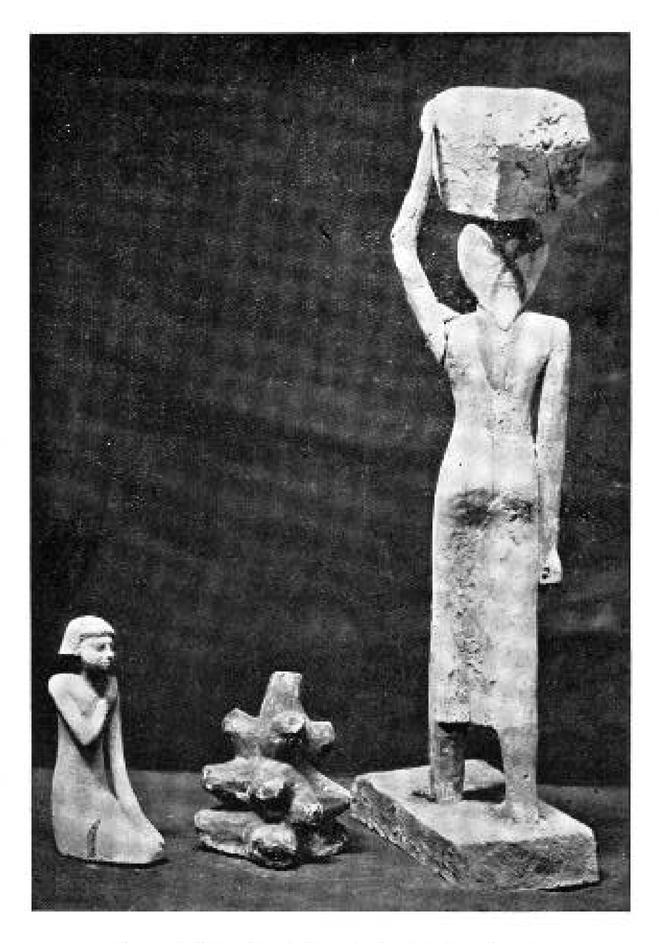


b

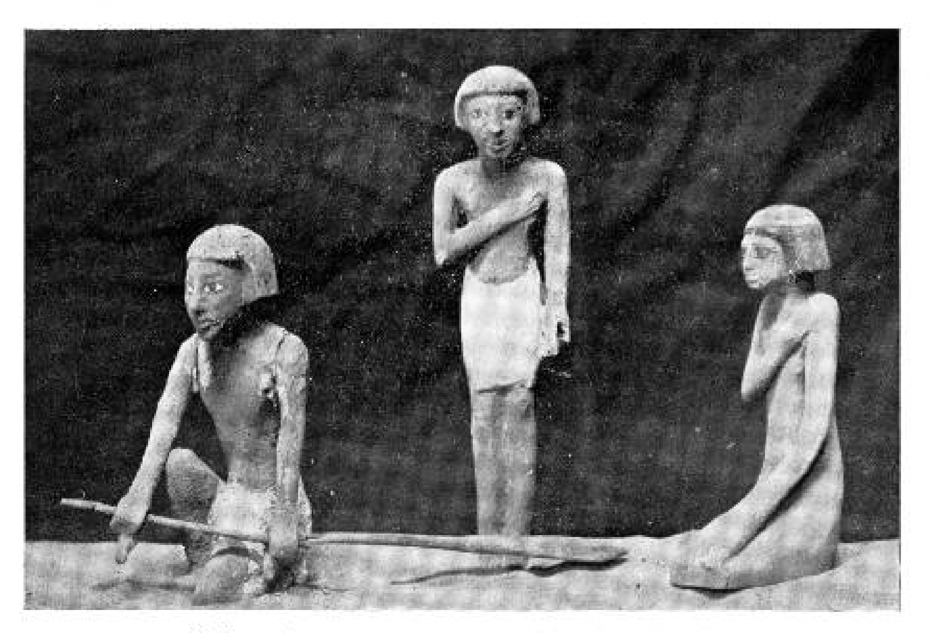
a, *b*. — Statuettes de servantes d'Icheti.



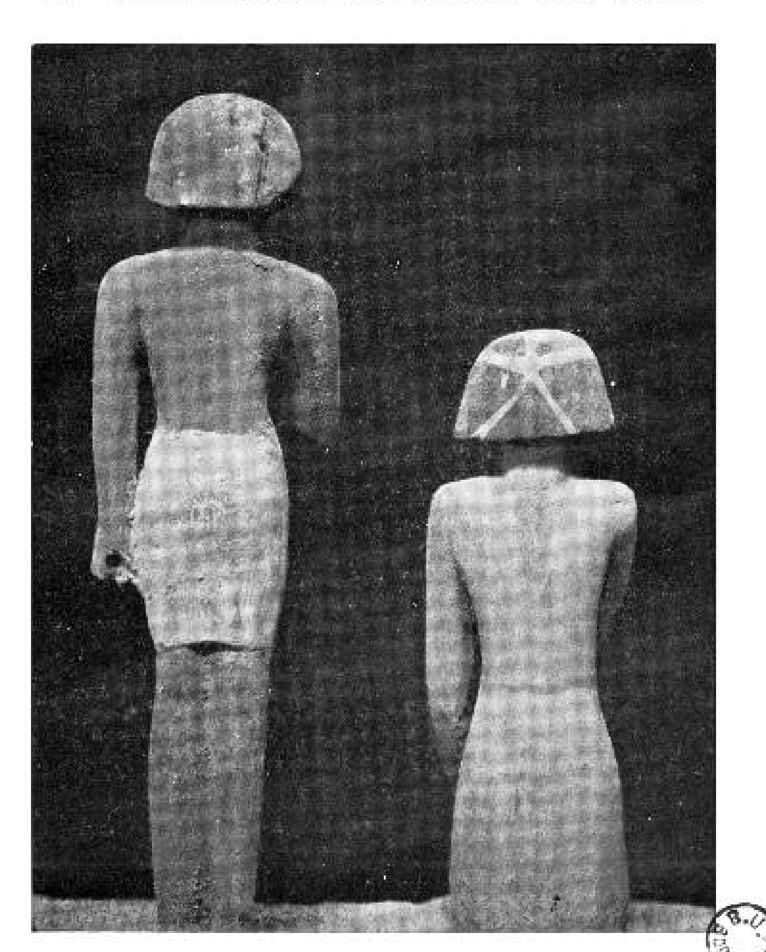
a. — Statuettes de la pl. X vues de profil.



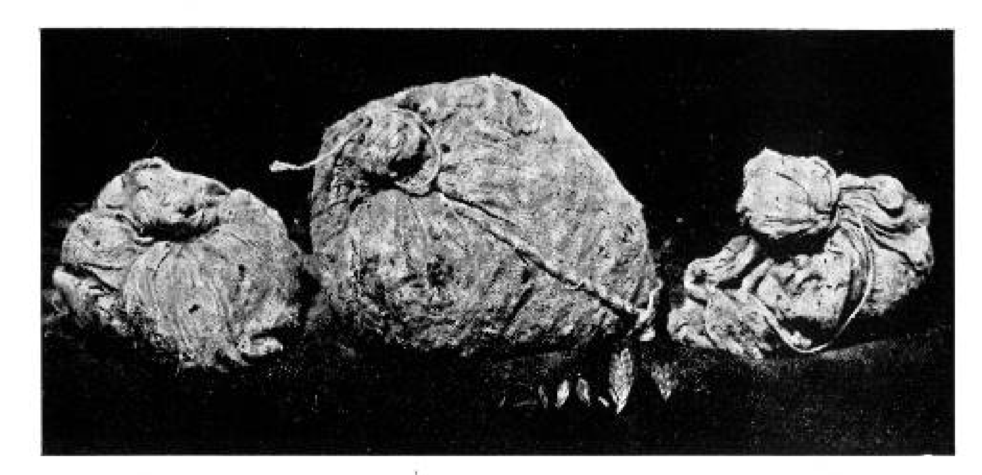
b. — L'une de ces statuettes vue de dos.



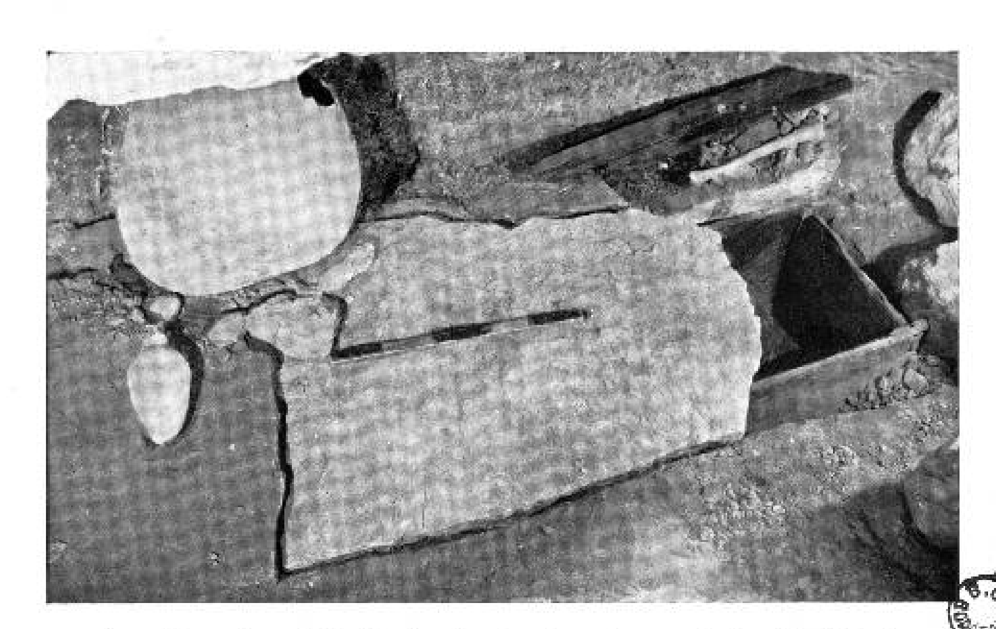
a. — Trois petites statuettes trouvées dans le *serdab* d'Icheti.



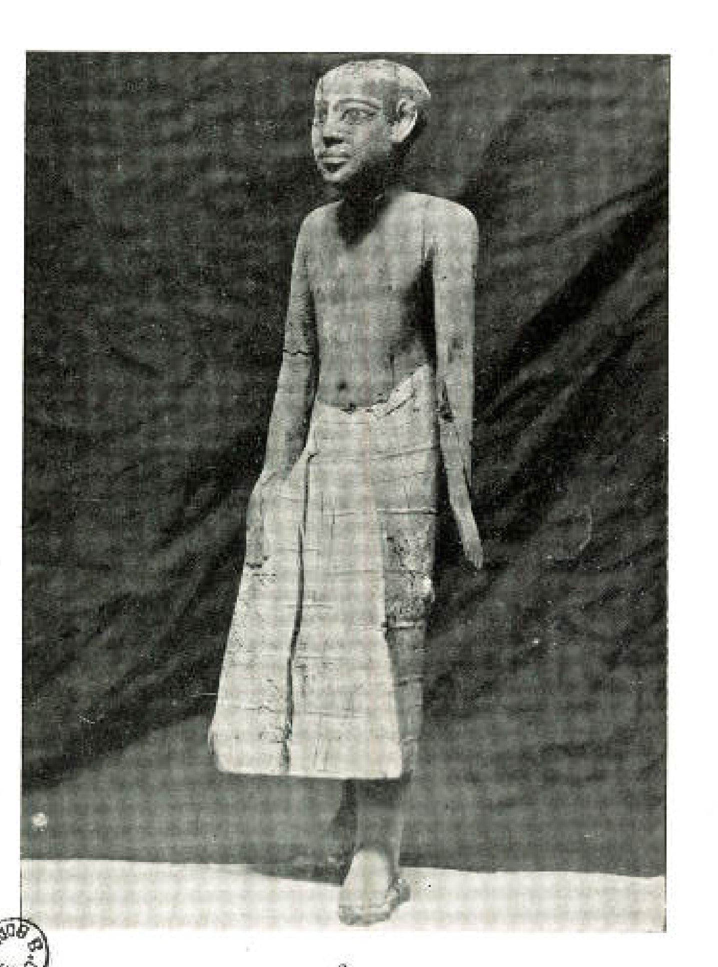
b. — Deux de ces statuettes vues de dos.



a. — Petits sacs de blé et d'orge trouvés dans le *serdab* d'Icheṯi (Remarquer les épis et les grains au premier plan).



b. — Sarcophage de la chambre du premier puits au sud de celui d'Icheṯi.

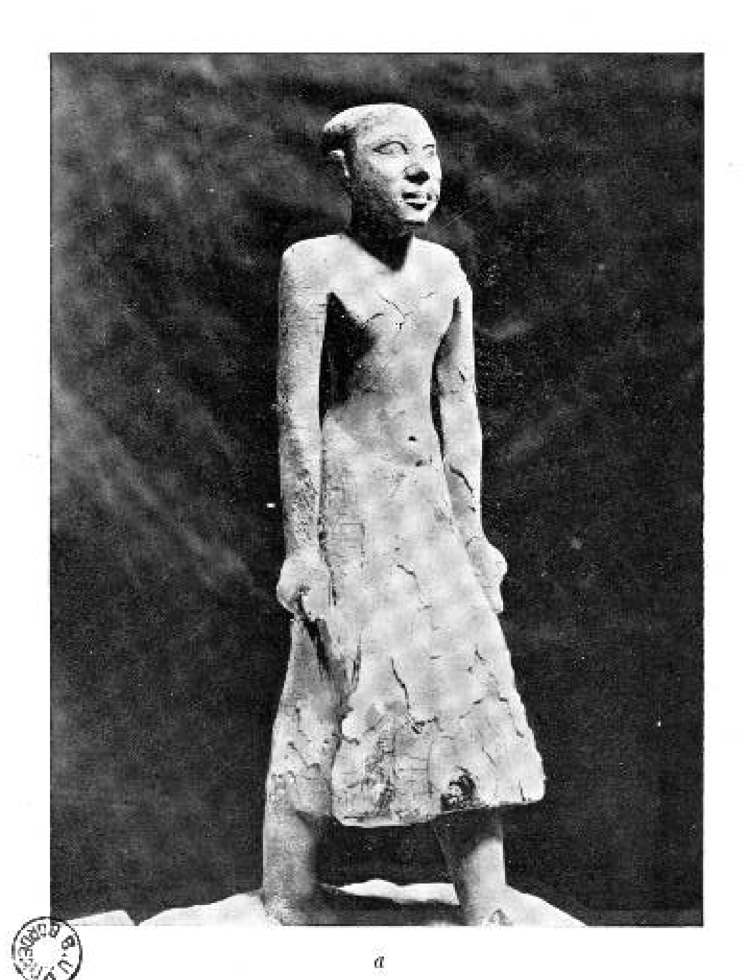


a

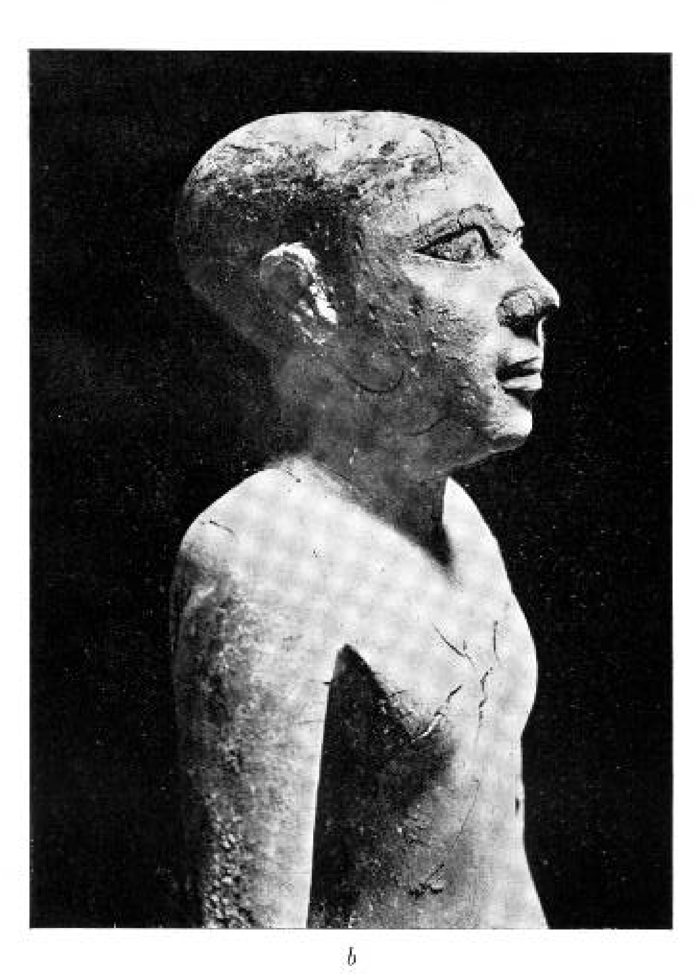


b

a, b. — Statue découverte dans le puits d'Ichcṭi.

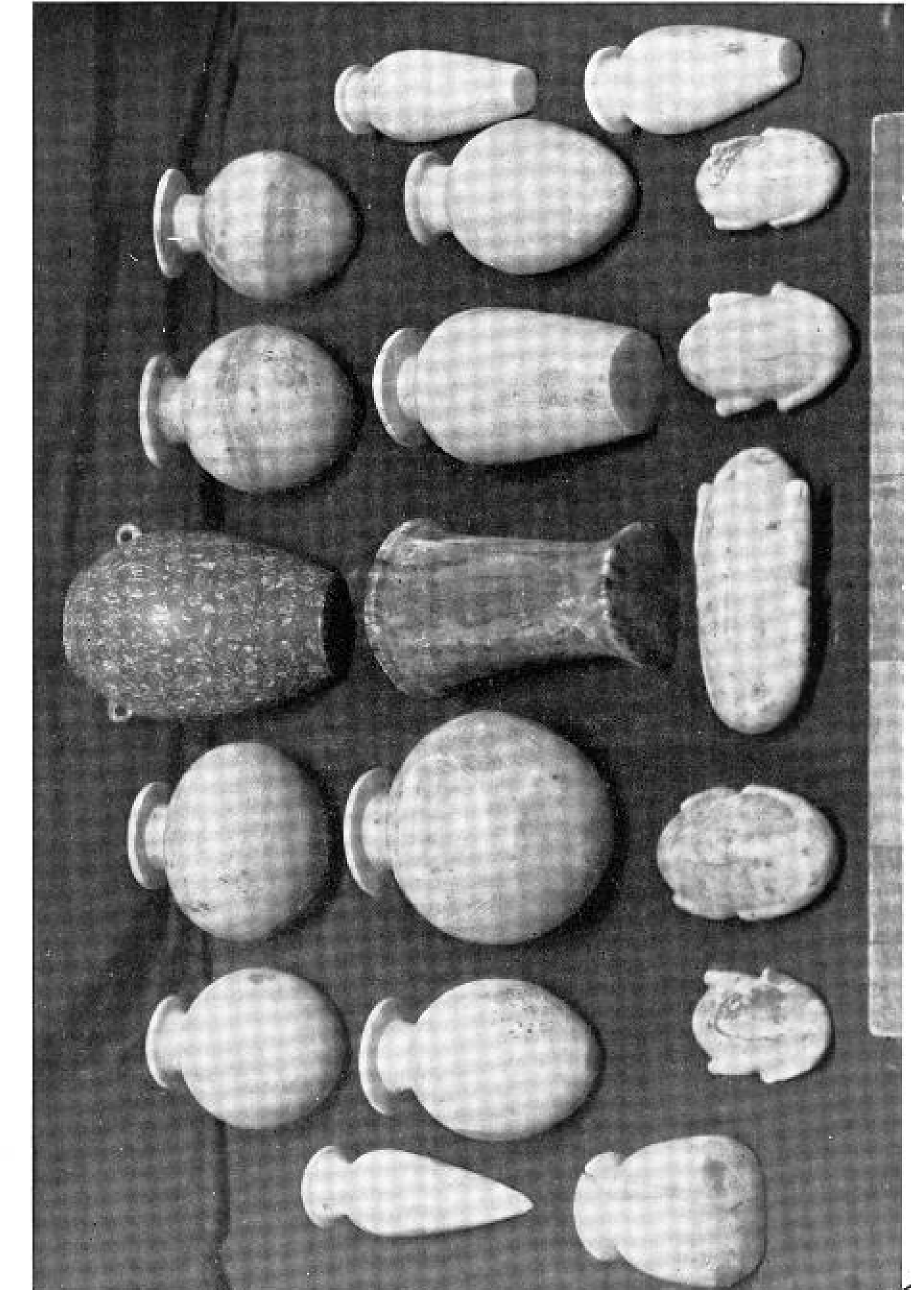


a

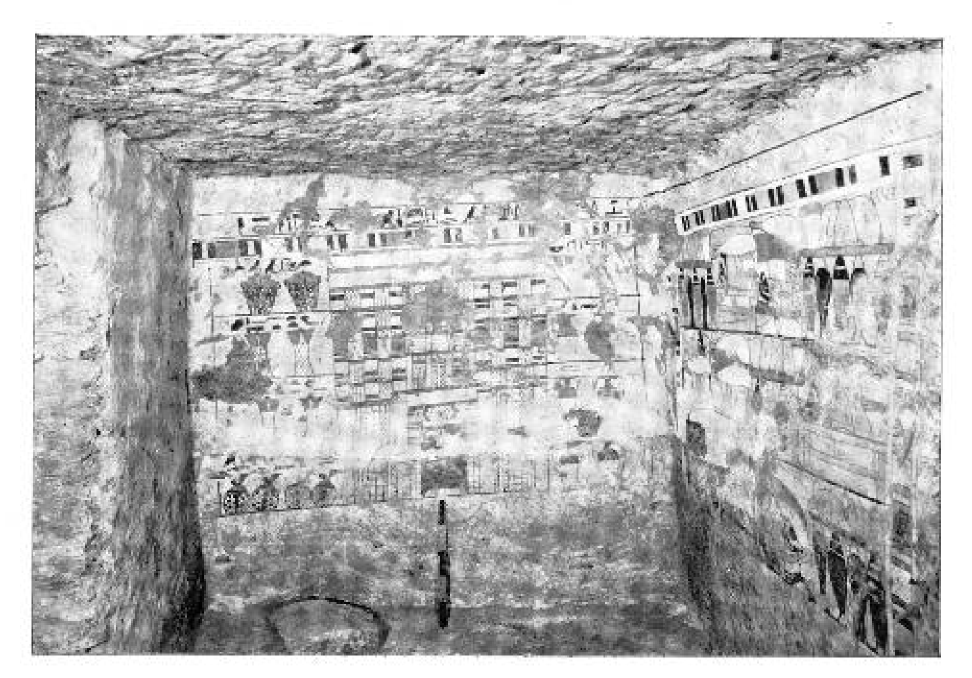


b

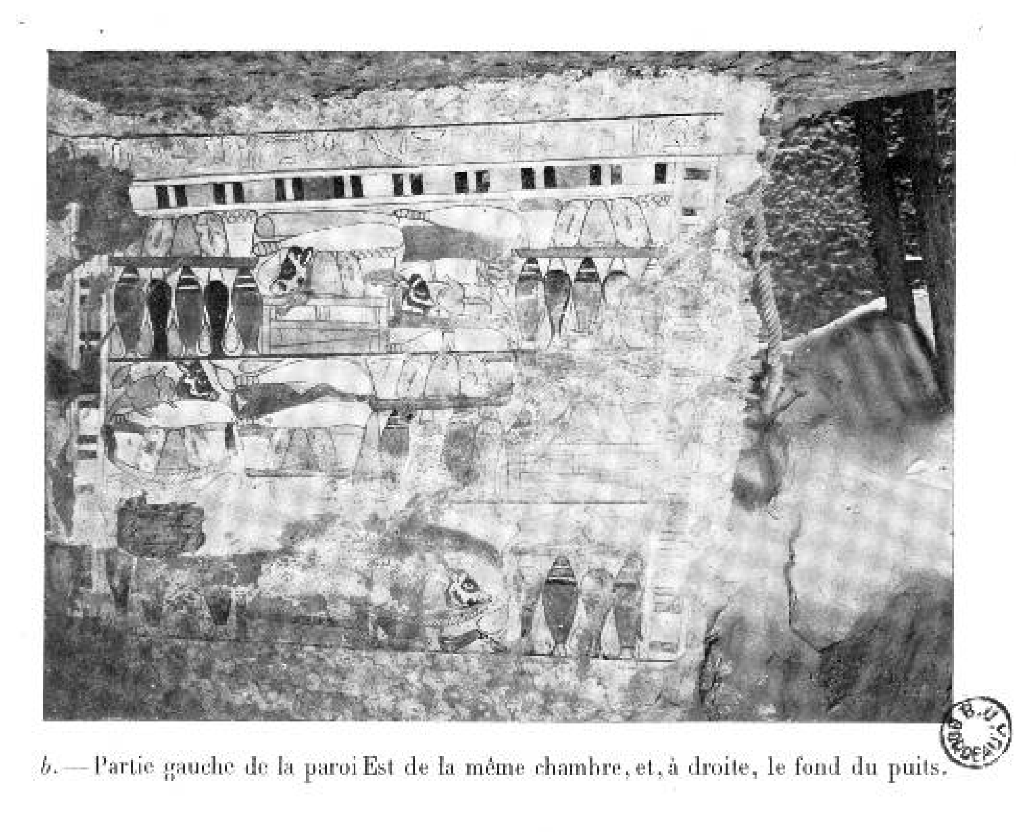
a, *b*. — Seconde statue trouvée dans le puits d'Icheṯi.



Vases et simulacres d'oies troussées découverts dans la tombe d'Ichéti.



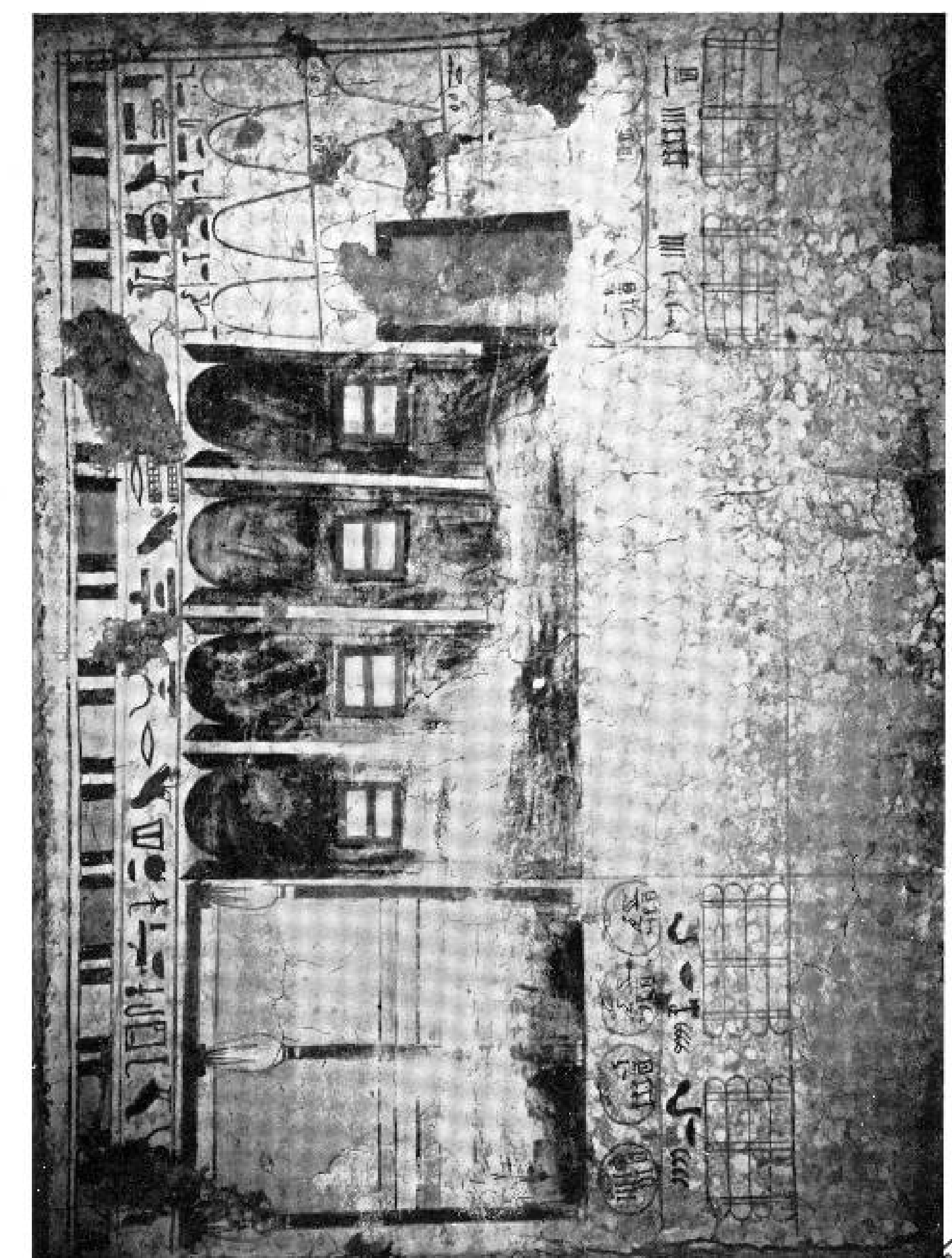
a. — Fausse porte de palais sur la paroi nord de la chambre sépulcrale d'Ichehi.



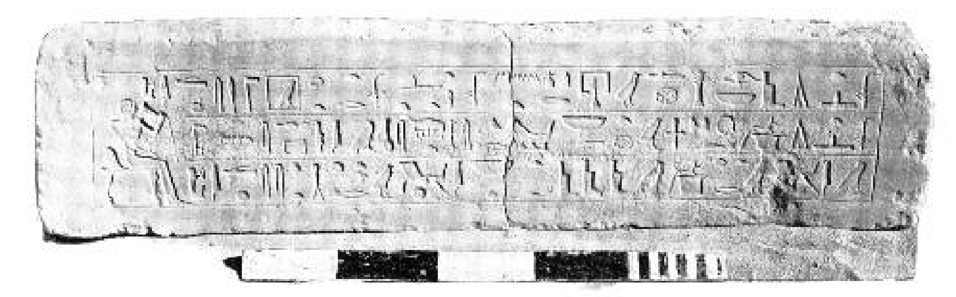
b. — Partie gauche de la paroi Est de la même chambre, et, à droite, le fond du puits.



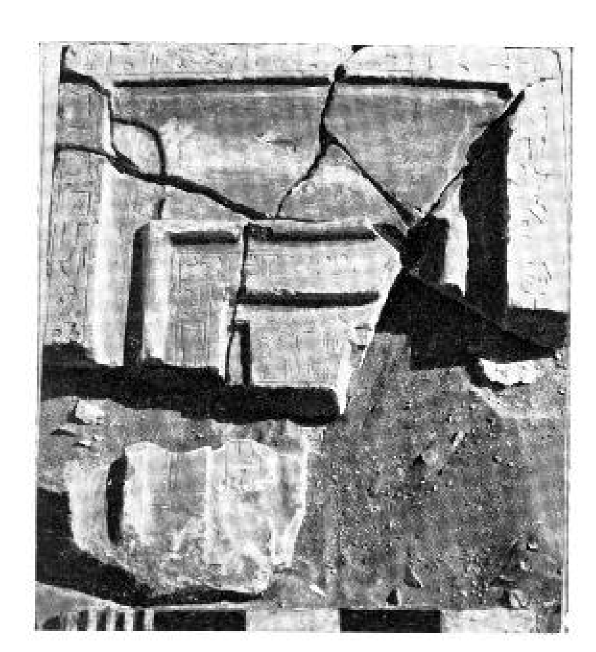
Paroi Est (partie droite) de la chambre sépulcrale d'Ichetj.



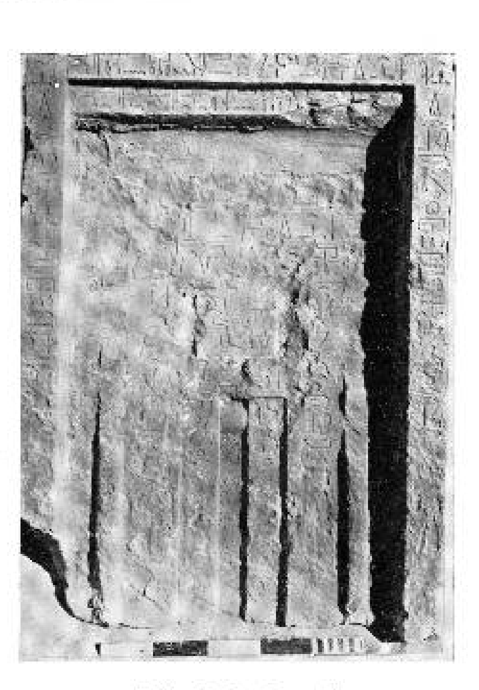
Parois Sud de la chambre sépulcrale d'Tcheti.



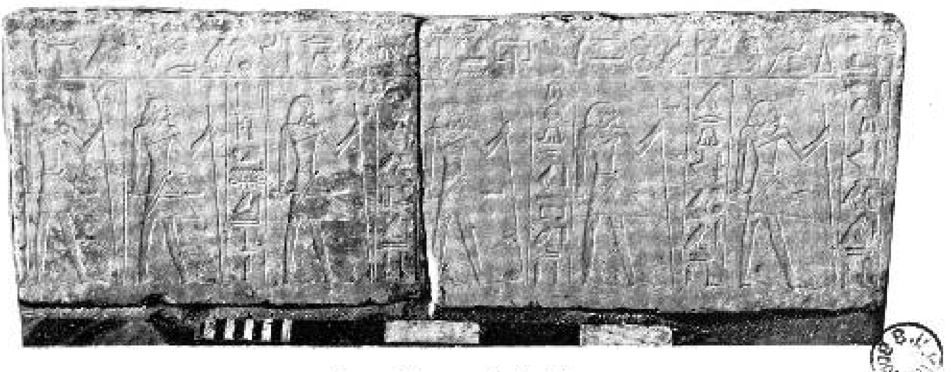
a. — Linteau de la prêtresse d'Hathor Sedekhi.



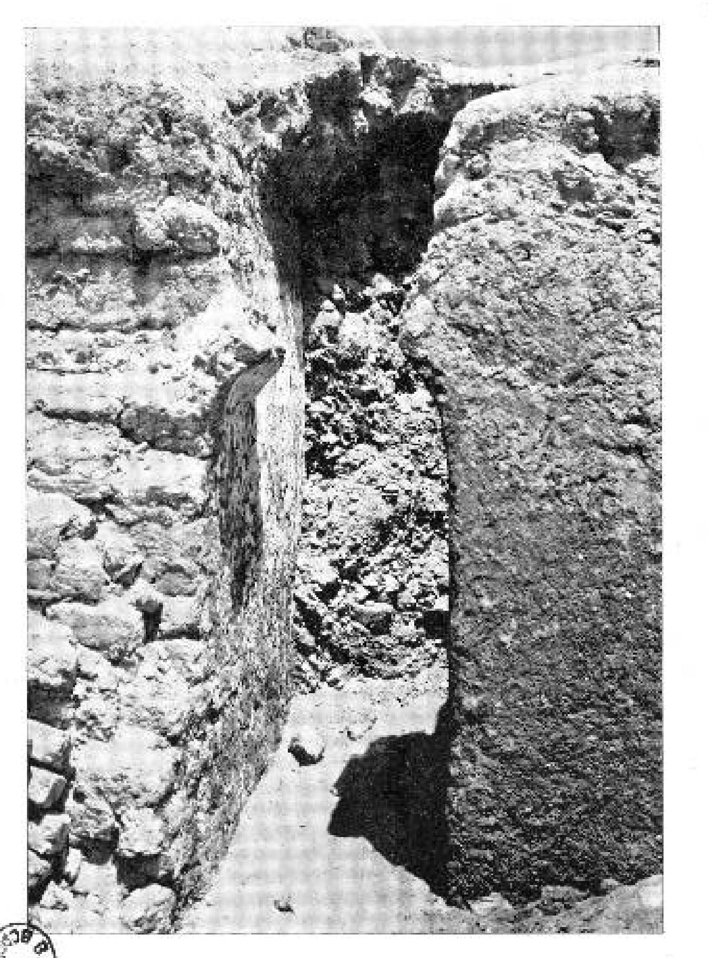
b. — Stèle de la prêtresse Sedekhi.



c. — Stèle de la dame Seṯet.



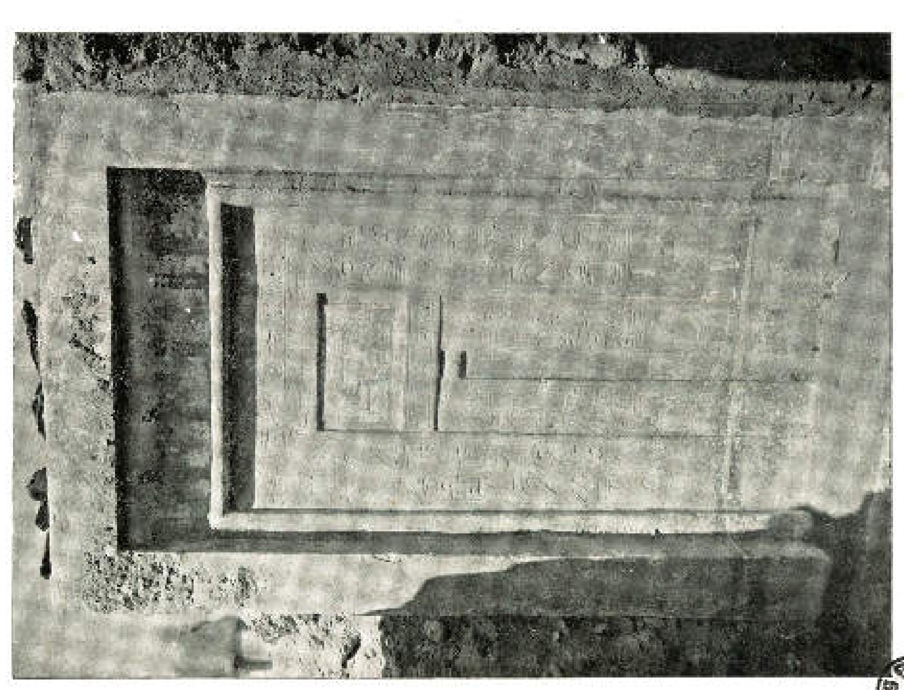
d. — Linteau de Imbi.



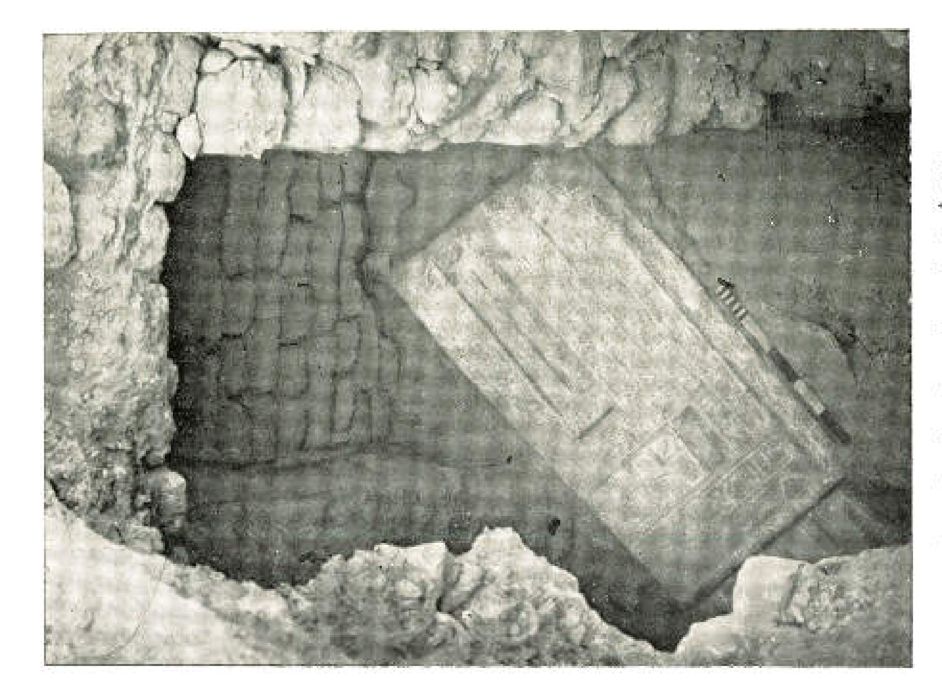
a. — Entrée du mastaba de Nefer-khouou-Ptah.



b. — La chambre à offrandes de Nefer-khouou-Ptah.



a. — La stèle de Nefer-khouou-Ptah, *in situ*, avant la restauration du mastaba.



b. — La chapelle et la stèle de Ânkhi.

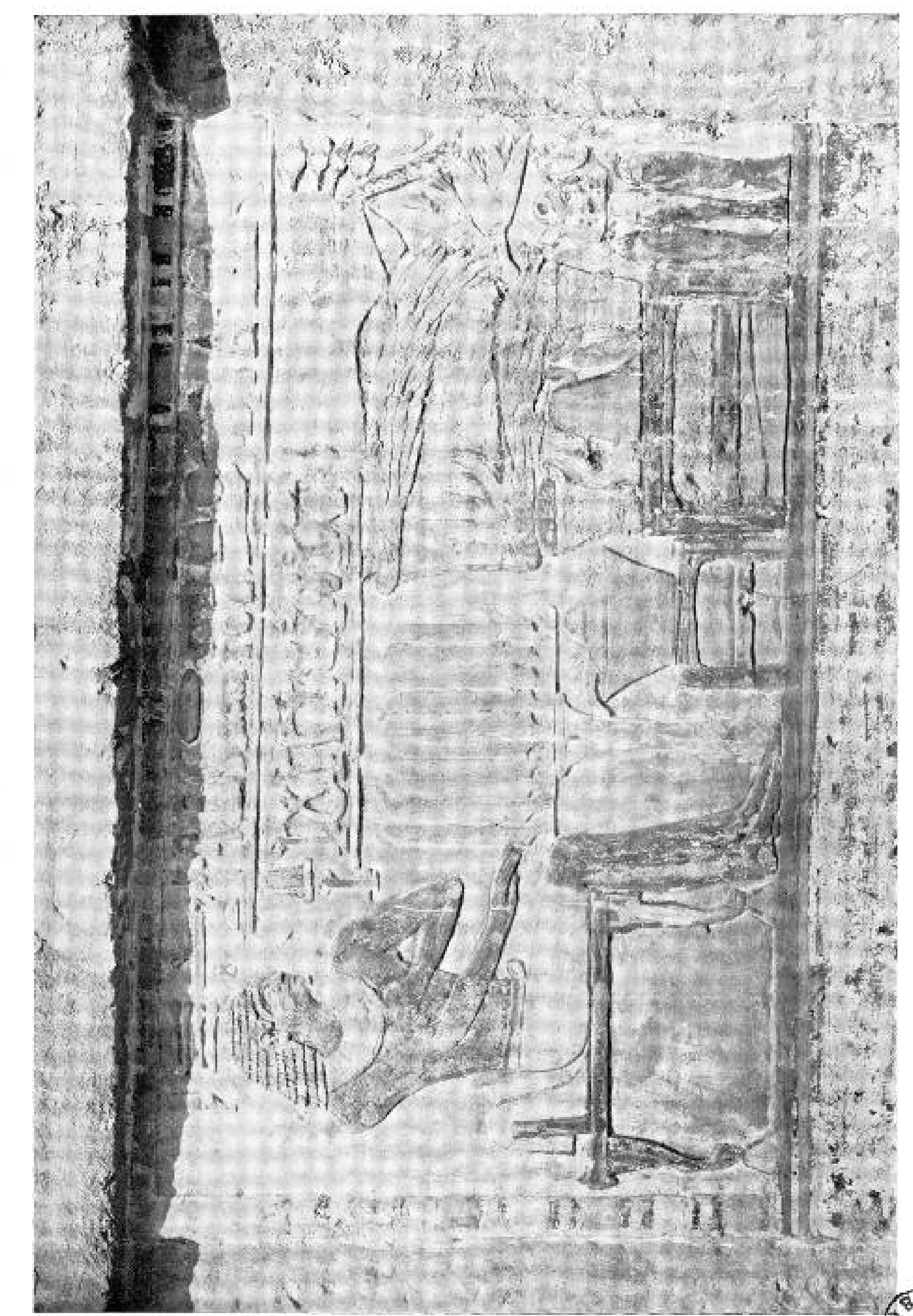
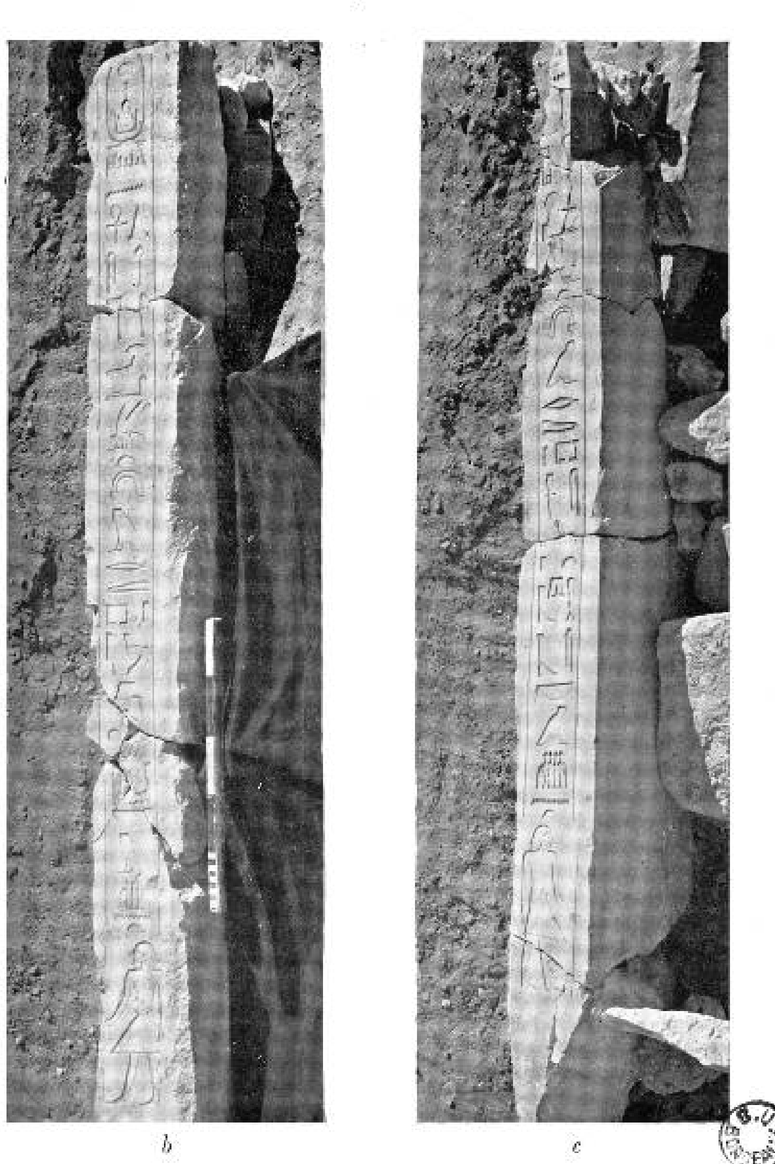


Tableau de la stèle de Nefer-khonou-Ptah.



a. — Linteau de la chapelle de Sébek-em-khent.

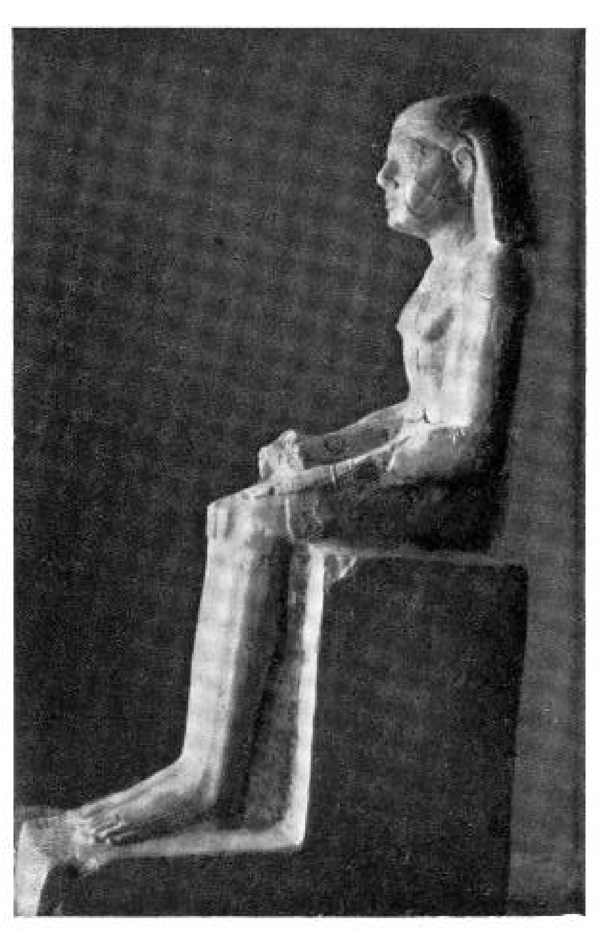


b *c*

b, c. — Jambages de l'entrée de cette chapelle.



a. — Les trois statues de Sébek-em-khent.



b. — Profil de la statue centrale.

RAPPORT PRÉLIMINAIRE SUR LES RECHERCHES ENTREPRISES DANS LE SOUS-SOL DE LA PYRAMIDE DE TÉTI À SAQQARAH EN 1951 ET 1955-1956

PAR

JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER ET JEAN SAINTE FARE GARNOT

I

Jamais les *Textes des Pyramides* n'ont été plus en honneur ; les nombreux travaux consacrés à ces textes ou fondés sur ces textes publiés, depuis quinze ans, par Thomas George Allen, Rudolf Anthes, Etienne Drioton, Elmar Edel, Otto Firchow, Sir Alan Gardiner, Hermann Grapow, Hermann, Junker, Hermann Kees, Pierre Lacau, Samuel A. B. Mercer, C.-E. Sander-Hansen, Siegfried Schott, Louis Speleers, Joachim Spiegel, W. T. Thacker, Madame Gertrud Thausing et moi-même — pour ne citer que quelques noms — en sont la preuve. Jamais non plus le besoin d'une nouvelle édition ne s'est fait sentir d'une manière plus pressante. La publication synoptique de Kurt Sethe (4 vol., Leipzig 1908-1922), actuellement introuvable, ne saurait être réimprimée telle quelle. Cet ouvrage si justement renommé, véritable «Bible» des spécialistes de l'Ancien Empire, historiens des religions ou philologues, a l'inconvénient d'être disposée en lignes et non — comme on l'exige maintenant — en colonnes. Antérieur aux découvertes de Gustave Jéquier à Saqqarah Sud, qui nous ont restitué de nouveaux textes de Pépi II et fait connaître ceux des reines Oudjebten, Neit et Apouit et du roi Aba (publiés les uns et les autres de 1928 à 1936), les quatre volumes de Sethe ne sont plus complets. Encore Jéquier n'a-t-il pu, faute de temps, parachever son œuvre. A sa mort, il restait à faire, dans trois des pyramides de Saqqarah,

la récolte (selon la méthode dont il avait été l'initiateur) des blocs et des fragments inscrits provenant de la démolition de certaines parois, blocs et fragments qu'il s'agirait ensuite, autant que possible, de remettre en ordre. Vers 1946, Pierre Lacau me suggéra d'entreprendre cette tâche, en commençant, naturellement, par la pyramide la plus ancienne, celle de Téti dont on pouvait, au reste, beaucoup attendre, ne serait-ce qu'en raison des particularités graphiques de ses textes. En 1950, le Service des Antiquités s'intéressa à l'entreprise ; il autorisa la réouverture et l'aménagement des chambres souterraines de Téti, étant entendu que le travail se ferait sous son contrôle et serait dirigé par un de ses architectes, Jean-Philippe Lauer, grand spécialiste des pyramides. Avant de céder la place à celui-ci, qui fera l'historique de nos deux campagnes et mettra en lumière leurs résultats archéologiques, je tiens à remercier les hautes autorités sans l'aide et les encouragements desquelles nos efforts n'auraient pu aboutir : le Commandant Kamal ed-Dine Hussein, Ministre de l'Education de la République Arabe Unie, Monsieur Pierre Lacau, le Docteur Etienne Drioton, le Docteur Moustafa Amer, tous trois anciens directeurs du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Monsieur Zakaria Goneim, Inspecteur en chef du Service des Antiquités, enfin la Direction du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, grâce à laquelle nous avons pu obtenir les crédits nécessaires.

J. S. F. G.

II

Ainsi que l'a rappelé ci-dessus M. Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, nous avions entrepris en mars 1951 un déblaiement méthodique et complet de la descenderie et de l'appartement funéraire de Téti, dans le but de récupérer tous les fragments inscrits qui s'y trouvaient encore, provenant des parois détruites des chambres souterraines de ce monument et dont on n'avait pu faire état, bien entendu, lors des éditions des textes dits « des Pyramides ».

A) *Campagne du printemps 1951.*

Après l'organisation, par Mariette, du Service des Antiquités, cette pyramide avait déjà été rouverte à deux reprises, d'abord le 29 mai 1881 par Maspero, en vue de sa célèbre publication des « Textes des Pyramides »[1] et en second lieu en 1922 par C. M. Firth au cours du déblaiement qu'il avait entrepris du temple funéraire de la pyramide de Téti et des mastabas situés au Nord de celle-ci[2].

Depuis lors, les amoncellements de déblais laissés sur la face Nord de la pyramide avaient obturé à nouveau le passage dans la descenderie, d'autant que celle-ci est recoupée par le cheminement des voleurs anciens, cinq mètres environ avant le point où, débouchant dans une première antichambre, elle devient horizontale. Ces voleurs s'étaient glissés le long du massif intérieur, en petite maçonnerie, de la pyramide, à la jonction de cette maçonnerie et des assises de grands blocs du revêtement, avaient atteint directement la descenderie en cassant simplement là quelques dalles de son plafond. Ce cheminement était évidemment beaucoup plus faible que celui qu'il aurait fallu forcer à travers les tampons de calcaire compact qui bloquaient la descenderie[3], ou à travers la maçonnerie très soignée de ses parois massives.

Il nous fallut ainsi, afin d'empêcher le sable et les éboulis de continuer à s'écouler dans la descenderie par cette brèche des premiers voleurs, enlever une large tranche des déblais recouvrant le centre de la face Nord de la pyramide. Ce travail a permis de remettre au jour les traces très nettes de la petite chapelle qui, adossée au revêtement de la pyramide, recouvrait l'embouchure de sa descenderie, et dont le plan avait été relevé par Firth[4]. Un fragment anépigraphe de la stèle de basalte qui

[1] Cf. G. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux...*, vol. V (1884), *La pyramide du roi Téti*, p. 1-59 et pl. I. Avant lui J. E. Perring s'était borné à prendre quelques mesures de cette pyramide, sans pénétrer à l'intérieur.

[2] Cf. C. M. Firth et Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. I, Texts (Le Caire 1926), p. 1-2.

[3] Ce travail de déblocage de la descenderie fut effectué beaucoup plus tard, nous le verrons, probablement par les Arabes qui, au Moyen Âge, exploitèrent ces pyramides comme carrières.

[4] Cf. Firth-Gunn, *op. cit.* fig. 2 p. 9.

devait garnir la paroi méridionale de ce sanctuaire a été retrouvé. En outre le dallage, sur le pourtour de l'ouverture même de la descenderie, est bien conservé ; il laisse nettement apparaître les crapaudines de la porte à deux vantaux de l'entrée.

Après ce déblaiement, qui demanda une dizaine de jours, le dégagement de la descenderie put être achevé rapidement, de même que celui du couloir horizontal, malgré ses trois herses de granit encore en place qui, fracturées seulement en partie, ne facilitent guère le passage jusqu'à l'appartement funéraire proprement dit.

Nous avons alors atteint la première salle ornée de textes (pl. I), qui constitue en somme l'antichambre de la salle sépulcrale. Les deux parois orientale et occidentale formant les murs pignons de cette salle couverte en chevrons par d'énormes dalles semées d'étoiles et placées de champ (2 m. 65 d'épaisseur), qui se contrebutent deux à deux, sont intactes avec leurs textes. Les deux autres parois vers le Nord et vers le Sud, au contraire, ont été complètement détruites par les chercheurs de pierre qui n'hésitèrent pas à retirer ainsi, au moins du côté Sud, leur appui et leur butée aux grandes dalles de la voûte, et à provoquer le glissement sur plusieurs centimètres de certaines d'entre elles. Du côté Nord, heureusement, les dalles reposant encore par leur extrémité inférieure sur les assises de granit des parois et du linteau de l'extrémité du couloir d'entrée, n'ont pas bougé, ce qui nous a permis de commencer immédiatement l'évacuation des éboulis encombrant la moitié septentrionale de la salle et de dégager les deux passages conduisant vers l'Est et vers l'Ouest aux chambres voisines. Au cours de ce travail nous nous efforcions de faire placer à part tous les fragments inscrits que nous pouvions remarquer et de les grouper dans un coin de la salle. En outre, le contenu de chaque couffin évacué était soigneusement vérifié à sa sortie de la descenderie, de façon à récupérer tous les menus fragments qui pouvaient échapper à notre contrôle dans la pyramide même où nous étions gênés par la poussière et le mauvais éclairage des lampes.

Nous avons ensuite déblayé la chambre située à l'Est et que l'on considère généralement dans ce type de pyramides comme un *serdab*. Les parois du pourtour de cette pièce anépigraphe sont intactes, mais deux

murs disposés en dents de peigne pour constituer trois niches [1] n'apparaissent plus que par leurs traces laissées sur le dallage. Ces deux petits murs qui, de toute évidence, ne pouvaient rien receler, et dont le rôle statique était nul dans cette chambre où les dalles de plafond reposaient sans portée excessive sur les parois Est et Ouest, n'ont dû être détruits que pour remployer leurs pierres. Nous avons ici la preuve que ces destructions à l'intérieur de la pyramide ne furent pas l'œuvre de chercheurs de trésors forcenés, comme on avait pu le penser [2], mais simplement celle de carriers en quête de pierres de remploi. Ces derniers, une fois épuisé le revêtement de calcaire fin de la pyramide, s'attaquèrent à tout ce qui pouvait être encore extrait de ses couloirs ou chambres intérieurs sans en provoquer l'effondrement. Ainsi s'explique l'extraordinaire travail de destruction accompli, non sans risques, dans les salles des pyramides des Ve et VIe dynasties à Saqqarah, vraisemblablement au Moyen Age, par les Arabes [3].

Le *serdab* déblayé, nous disposions là dorénavant d'un dégagement permettant d'y entreposer provisoirement tous les fragments inscrits qui

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[1] Ce dispositif se retrouve en particulier à la pyramide d'Ounas ; cf. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux...*, vol. III (1881), pl. de la page 177.

[2] Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux...*, vol. V (1884), p. 2, écrivait en effet : « ils (les voleurs) pensèrent que les murs renfermaient quelque cachette, et ils déployèrent à la chercher la même tenacité et la même rage qu'ils avaient mise à se frayer la voie à travers les herses... ».

[3] Maspero a retrouvé, en effet, dans la salle sépulcrale et près des herses de la pyramide de Téti plusieurs lampes arabes en terre émaillée verte (*op. cit.*, p. 59). Il en retrouva également dans d'autres pyramides de Saqqarah, celle de Pépi II, par exemple (Cf. *Recueil de Travaux* ..., vol. XI, p. 55). Enfin, dans la pyramide d'Ounas, Maspero, ayant découvert une inscription arabe tracée au-dessus de l'issue de la descenderie dans l'angle N.-O. de la première antichambre, écrivait à propos de cette inscription (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 117) « c'est le nom de l'un des Arabes qui violèrent jadis la pyramide : si le personnage qui le porte est identique à *Maître Ahmed le charpentier*, qui ouvrit la grande pyramide de Gizeh, nous avons la date à peu près exacte de l'ouverture de la pyramide. Ce serait sous le calife Mamoun vers l'an 280, qu'une véritable bande noire aurait exploité les nécropoles de Memphis... ».

allaient certainement apparaître au cours des travaux à exécuter dans les deux salles principales.

Revenant alors à la première de celles-ci, c'est-à-dire en somme à la grande antichambre, il nous fallait avant tout nouveau déblaiement étayer les grandes dalles recouvrant sa moitié méridionale qui ne s'appuyait plus que sur des éboulis de pierraille extrêmement dangereux à réduire. De gros rondins ayant été placés pour contrebuter chacune de ces dalles, nous avons entamé l'édification d'un nouveau mur en moellons, en retrait d'une quinzaine de centimètres par rapport à l'ancien alignement du parement [1]. Ce mur fut monté progressivement par tranches verticales de moins d'un mètre de longueur de façon à bien caler et prendre successivement en charge la partie inférieure de chacune des dalles de la voûte, de ce côté. Le mur une fois terminé, les étais purent être enlevés et la chambre, complètement nettoyée, livra environ deux cent fragments inscrits, dont plusieurs d'assez grande dimension.

L'ensemble de ce travail avait duré un peu plus d'un mois, du 15 février au 23 mars 1951, et nous comptions le reprendre au printemps suivant, après avoir construit durant l'hiver un magasin destiné à permettre l'étude et le classement des fragments découverts, que nous avions dû mettre à l'abri dans un entrepôt provisoire. Ce magasin, qui serait bâti sur les crédits affectés à la mission de M. Jean Sainte Fare Garnot par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, deviendrait la propriété du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte lorsque nos travaux auraient pris fin.

Malheureusement les difficultés résultant de l'évolution de la situation internationale nous contraignirent à interrompre ces travaux durant quatre ans.

B) *Campagne 1955-1956.*

L'autorisation de rouvrir le chantier nous ayant été donnée en mai 1955, nous avons entrepris immédiatement la construction du magasin

[1] Nous comptons en effet appliquer ici le système pratiqué par Jéquier dans la pyramide de Pépi II, consistant à réincorporer après coup à la paroi reconstruite ceux des fragments inscrits dont la place initiale aurait pu être déterminée avec certitude.

prévu, que nous avons situé sur l'emplacement même d'anciens magasins du temple de la pyramide de Téti, le long de son mur Nord. Le gros œuvre en était terminé au moment de notre départ en congé, à la fin de juin. L'exécution de la porte métallique, de la toiture, des lanternaux, des étagères en bois ainsi que des tables à tréteaux nécessaires fut commencée dès notre retour; mais avec tous les délais de livraison demandés pour les matériaux, ce magasin ne devint utilisable qu'à la fin de l'hiver, et M. Jean Sainte Fare Garnot ne put reprendre avec nous le travail sous la pyramide même qu'après son retour de Haute-Egypte, en avril 1956.

Ayant effectué le transfert de tous les fragments inscrits importants au nouveau magasin, nous avons entrepris aussitôt après le dégagement et la consolidation de la seconde salle de la pyramide, c'est-à-dire la chambre sépulcrale même. Celle-ci était dans un état encore plus chaotique et précaire que l'antichambre, car l'enlèvement des deux parois Nord et Sud avait de part et d'autre [1] provoqué un affaissement, plus accusé que dans l'autre pièce, de quelques-unes des énormes dalles de la voûte. L'une de celles-ci est même descendue de plus de 50 centimètres.

Nous nous sommes d'abord efforcés de dégager le centre de la salle en nous attaquant à l'amoncellement de fragments et de déchets de pierre qui l'encombrait; de grandes précautions dûrent être prises pour ne pas provoquer de glissement dans les tas de blocaille qui, calant tant bien que mal les dalles de couverture, empêchaient celles-ci de continuer leur mouvement de descente. Une place ayant été ainsi faite dans le centre, nous avons pu étayer, par une charpente de gros rondins, les grandes dalles de la moitié orientale de la salle et entreprendre la reconstruction en moellons des deux parois Nord et Sud, par tranches étroites successives, verticales, comme nous l'avions fait dans l'antichambre, toujours en léger retrait par rapport à leur alignement ancien.

Le déblaiement central a pu être ainsi peu à peu élargi, laissant apparaître le beau sarcophage de basalte entrevu autrefois par Maspero.

[1] Nous avons vu que, dans l'antichambre, ce glissement ne s'était produit que du côté Sud, les dalles du côté Nord reposant encore sur les assises de granit du débouché du couloir d'entrée.

Le couvercle, brisé seulement à l'angle Sud-Est, est toujours en place. De la momie dépouillée par les voleurs, il ne subsiste rien dans la cuve même, mais divers fragments d'ossements et de linges recueillis parmi les déblais de la chambre funéraire seront à étudier soigneusement.

Malheureusement des raisons de santé nous contraignirent à interrompre notre campagne le 20 mai, soit un mois plus tôt que les autres années, et les événements de l'automne 1956 ne nous ont pas permis de reprendre nos travaux pour consolider cette chambre, dont l'accès demeure dangereux, et parachever son déblaiement.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la moisson de fragments inscrits collectés au cours de cette seconde campagne a été fort importante, doublant largement le nombre de ceux recueillis au cours de la première. M. Jean Sainte Fare Garnot va maintenant commenter, brièvement, les résultats obtenus, du point de vue, cette fois, de l'épigraphie. Ces résultats, encore que partiels, n'en sont pas moins déjà très encourageants.

J.-Ph. L.

III

Les fragments découverts dans les conditions définies plus haut (pl. II) sont en général de petites dimensions et ne pourront donc être assemblés que lorsque l'exploration du caveau et son dégagement auront pris fin. Un certain nombre d'entre eux, néanmoins, sont de taille moyenne ou même de grande taille et nous ont restitué des textes distribués en cinq, six, plus rarement sept ou huit colonnes. D'autres ne portent point de textes, mais seulement des éléments du décor figuré : grandes étoiles des dalles de la couverture ou motifs géométriques, comparables à ceux des stèles « en façade de palais ».

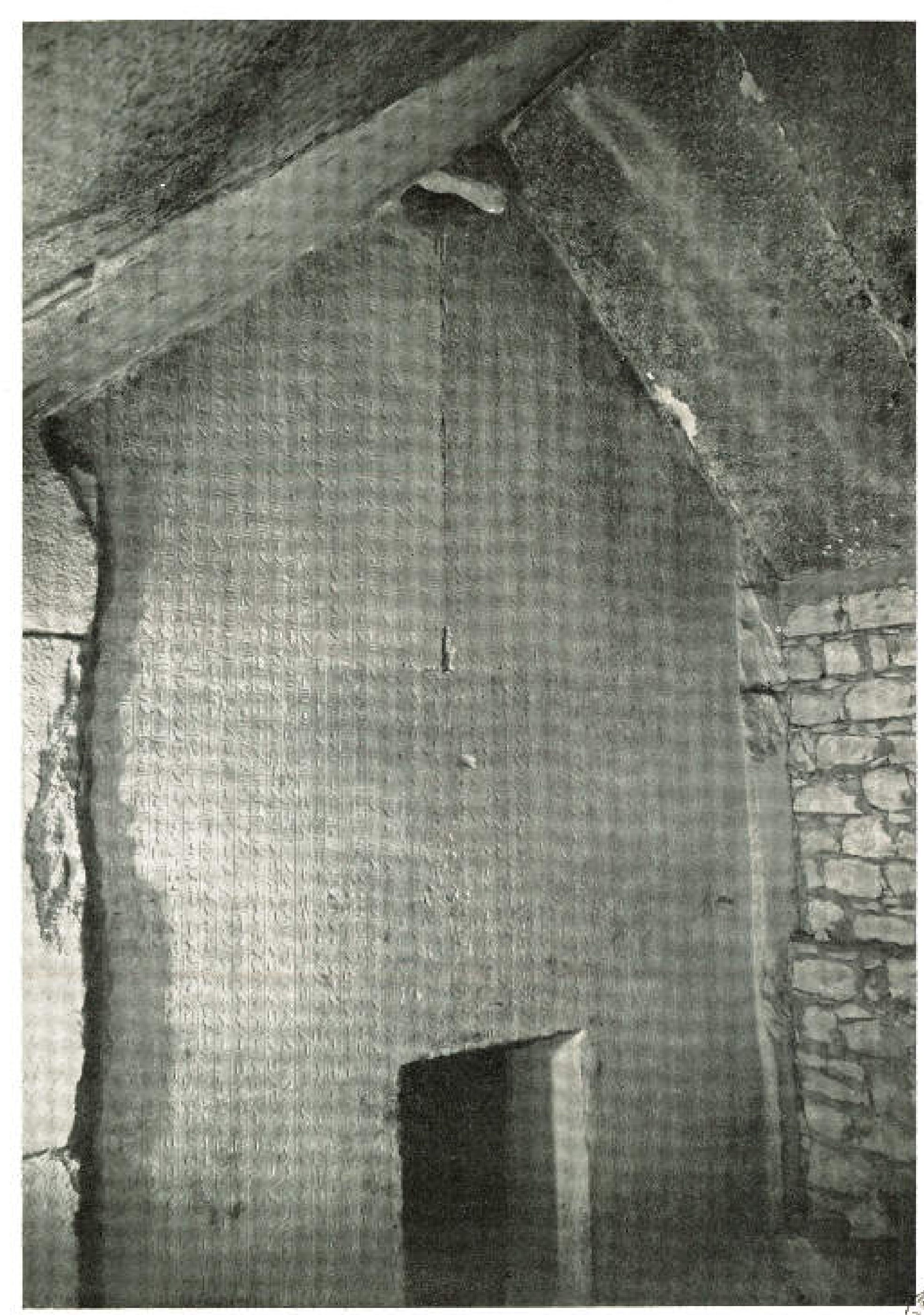
Les textes eux-mêmes se divisent en deux groupes. Les uns, en petit nombre, sont nouveaux, en ce sens qu'ils ne se rencontrent point dans l'édition Sethe, ni dans les publications complémentaires de Gustave Jéquier. Tel est le cas, par exemple, de celui que j'ai relevé sur le bloc T 50 C, qui nous a révélé, d'autre part, un hiéroglyphe dont nous ne connaissions pas, jusqu'à présent, d'exemple. Il s'agit d'un récipient de forme ovale duquel s'échappe un filet d'eau retombant dans une coupe. Nous avons là un « signe-action » comparable à ceux étudiés par Pierre Lacau dans ses cours du Collège de France.

Les textes déjà connus sont de beaucoup les plus nombreux. Un premier dépouillement a permis d'identifier des passages des « récitations » (*Sprüche; Utterances*) suivantes, que je cite d'après la numérotation de Sethe : 32, 35, 39, 41, 81, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 214, 215, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 245, 261, 271, 301, 303, 304, 308, 309, 439, 456, 627, en tout vingt-huit. Les sections 214, 215 et 301 n'étaient connues, jusqu'à la découverte des nouveaux blocs de Téti, que par la version d'Ounas. Inversement ces nouveaux blocs nous font connaître maintenant — sous une forme partielle — la plus ancienne version connue des récitations 439, 456, 627, qui ne se trouve pas chez Ounas. Il arrive que, dans la pyramide de Téti, des récitations attestées ailleurs se rencontrent dans un ordre différent. Par exemple la récitation 245 (§ 250 *c*-252 *a*) suit directement la récitation 222 (§ 210 *c*-211 *c*). Les nouveaux exemples de textes déjà connus correspondent en général aux récitations incluses dans le premier volume de l'édition Sethe. Quelques-uns cependant nous fournissent les parallèles de textes publiés dans le second volume de cette même édition (par exemple des fragments des § 1778 *a*-1782 *d*).

J'espère, dans un avenir assez prochain, pouvoir mettre à la disposition de mes collègues, des copies de ces textes, faites par Monsieur Pierre Clère à Saqqarah, d'après les originaux.

J.S.F.G.

J.-Ph. Lauer et J. Sainte Fare Garnot.



L'antichambre de la Pyramide de Téti. — Paroi Est (intacte) et Paroi Sud (reconstruite).



Fragments de textes dans la Pyramide de Téti.

TWO COPTIC EPITAPHS

BY

H. S. K. BAKRY

I.—Among the pagan remains housed in Magazine 2 of the Pyramid Zone lies a Christian epitaph (fig. 1). It was found by the American Expedition of Harvard University while it was digging in the area. Yet it was discarded in the end and buried in the sand until the keeper of the Zone dug it out in 1956, and gave it a more respectable stay in the abovementioned Magazine and a register number as well (G 52).

Material : limestone

Dimensions : height (max.) 36 cm.; breadth (max.) 24.5 cm.; thickness (max.) 10 cm.

Provenance : Gizeh.

Workmanship : rough.

Text

1 ⲫ† ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲛ[ⲁ]
ⲓⲧⲁϩⲁⲧⲁⲡⲁ
ϣⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲙ
ⲧⲁⲛⲙⲁⲥ[1] ⲛⲥ[2] ⲕ̄ⲁ̄

[1] Read ⲙⲙⲁⲥ *F*, see Till, *Kopt Dialektgramm.*, S. 34, J. The first ⲙ in ⲙⲙⲟ″ might be dropped by the scribe, *e.g.*

Have mercy on the soul of Nonna ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲙ^ⲑ/ *who went to her rest on the 18th day of Pharmuthi* (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1908-9, 1909-10), 58, No. 201), and ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟ̣ϥ ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲃ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲡⲉ *who went to his rest on the 2nd day of Paophi* (p. 62, No. 205), etc.

[2] More commonly ⲛⲥⲟⲩ-.

ⲘⲠⲬⲰⲀⲈ
ⲚⲀⲤ[1] ⲇ̄ ϨⲚ
▒▒ ⲒⲢⲎⲚⲎ[2] Ⲛ
ⲦⲈ ⲫ϶ ϨⲀⲘ
ⲎⲚ

Translation

O God! May thy mercy
reach[3] *Tapa-*
sheei[4] *who went to*
her rest on the 24th day
of the Harvest[5],
of the 4th indiction[6]*-year in*
peace *of God. Amen.*

The Dialect is purely Fayyumic.

II.—Epitaph No. 3835 of the Coptic Museum :

Material : marble.

Dimensions : height (max.) 55.5 cm.; breadth (max.) 36.5 cm.;

[1] Usually ⲓⲛⲇ/ abbreviated from ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ, *Greek : ἰνδικτίωνος* (gen.). For this word, see Cabrol, F. et Leclerq, H., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1926, p. 530-535.

[2] ⲟⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ (?). See ⲟⲓⲣⲏⲛⲉ in Blok, H. P., *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Koptischen*, Z. Ä. S. LXII, 50.

[3] Cf. Nos. 254 and 284 in Quibell, *op. cit.* 80, 89.

[4] « That-of-the-Multitude » (ⲧⲁ-ⲡ-ⲁϣⲉⲉⲓ); *Egyptien : tꜣ-n-pꜣ-ꜥšꜣ* (?). Cf. ⲧⲁⲡⲁϣⲉⲓⲕ, ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲙ and ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲧⲁⲃⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ in Heuser, G., *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, Leipzig, 1929, S. 30.

[5] Alias «Mesoré», ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣⲏ, name of the 12th month «Birth of Reᶜ (*Sun*)», *Greek : Μεσορή, Arabe :* مسرى «Misrā». Occasionally ⲡⲭⲱⲁⲉ occurs with the meaning of «Mesoré». Cf.... ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁϯⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲭⲱⲱⲁⲉ, ⲙ̄ⲡⲑⲱ̄ⲑ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲱⲡⲉ, ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲑⲱⲣ, ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲓⲁⲕ .... Epiphi and «Mesoré» and Thoth and Paophi and Hathôr and Khoiak.... Abd al-Massih, Y., *A Fragmentary Farmer's Almanac*, in *Cahiers Coptes* (1956) x, 5, 7.

[6] The underlined words are words of Greek origin.

thickness (max.) 5.5 cm.

(*N. B.* Lower right-hand corner broken off).

Provenance : unknown[1].

Workmanship : mediocre.

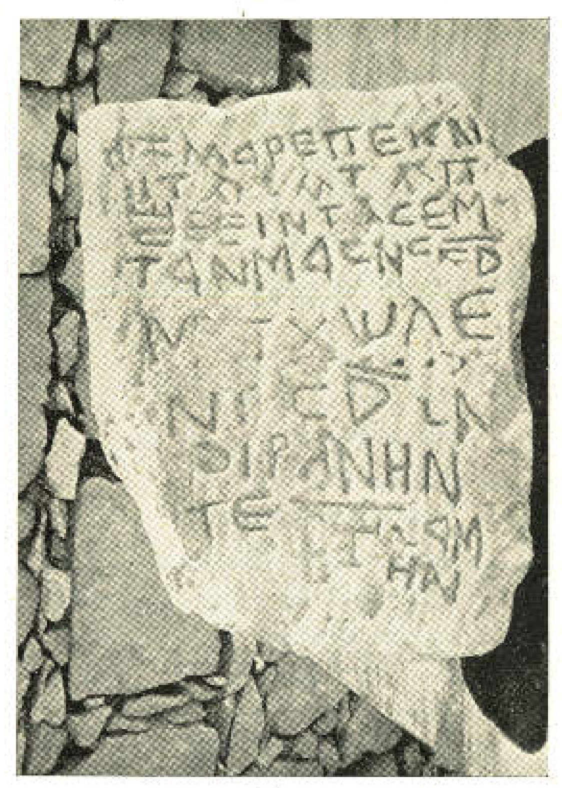


Fig. 1.

Text

⳩ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ ⲚⲈⲠⲚ̄Ⲁ[2]
ⲀⲨⲰⲠⲬⲞⲈⲒⲤ ⲚⲤⲀ
ⲢϨ ⲚⲒⲘ ⲀⲢⲒⲞⲨ ⲚⲀⲘⲚ
ⲦⲈ ϮⲨⲬⲎⲚⲦⲘⲀⲔⲀⲢⲒⲀ

[1] It was bought by the Museum from an antique dealer in Cairo.

[2] Read [Ⲛ]ⲚⲈⲠⲚ̄Ⲁ.

ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲱⲡⲓⲁ [1] ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲙ
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ
ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲛⲙϣⲓⲣⲡⲉ
ⲃⲟⲧ ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉⲧ
ⲁⲓ [2] ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥⲕⲉ
ⲇⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲇⲓ
ⲧⲓⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲙ
ⲏⲛ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ [3]

Translation

O God [*of*] spirits
and Lord of all flesh,
have mercy on
the soul *of the* deceased,
Eutropia *who went to*
her rest on the 16*th day*
of Mechir, the
month, this year,
the 14*th* indiction-*year,*
Amen, so be it.

The Dialect is Sa'idic with conspicuous Greek influence.

H. S. K. Bakry.

[1] Feminine of Εὐτρόπιος.
[2] Sometimes ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲓ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ Cf. No. 12, l. 14-15, in *Ann. Serv.* VIII, 86.
[3] = ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ.

ALCUNI NUOVI MONUMENTI
DI EPOCA PERSIANA

DI

EDDA BRESCIANI

I sei documenti che qui pubblichiamo, appartenenti alla collezione Michaelidis [1], vengono ad accrescere il numero, finora relativamente non elevato, dei monumenti datati all'epoca della dominazione achemenide in Egitto, e sono, per questo loro carattere di rarità, particolarmente benvenuti.

I. SITULA COL NOME DI DARIO I (Tav. I, *a*)

La situla, in maiolica verde (già azzurra?), proviene dalla regione menfita. Alta cm. 12,5, misura all'imboccatura cm. 3 di diametro.


Fig. 1.

L'iscrizione geroglifica, in nero, disposta verticalmente, è racchiusa in un rettangolo (fig. 1).

« *Nb tꜣ·wj* (Tr jwš) » « Il signore delle due terre, Dario. »

Una tale trascrizione geroglifica del nome di Dario non è attestata finora.

Le varie grafie geroglifiche di questo nome si possono dividere in due gruppi : tipo *trwš/trjwš* e tipo *ꞽntrwš/ꞽntrjwš* [2]. Questo criterio grafico non può essere una base attendibile per una datazione assoluta di monumenti : si può affermare tuttavia che nel IV° anno del regno di Dario I, la grafia regolare è del tipo *trwš/trjwš*;

[1] Eccetto il doc. V, di mia proprietà, essi appartengono alla collezione del Sig. Georges Michaelidis che qui ringrazio per avermene permesso lo studio e la pubblicazione.
[2] Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pg. 161-163.

mentre negli ultimi anni del regno, regolare è quella *intarwš/intarjwš* [1].

La nostra situla appartiene dunque al regno Dario I e ai primi anni del regno.

II. COLTELLO IN BRONZO CON IL NOME DI DARIO (fig. 2)

Questa lama di coltello a doppio taglio, in bronzo, molto grande (lungh. cm. 38) e flessibile [2], proviene dalla regione menfita. Della parte assottigliata che doveva essere infissa in un manico, è rimasto solo un brevissimo moncone.

Sulla superficie della lama, ricoperta di patina verde, si legge il nome di Dario, circondato dal cartiglio, in geroglifici incisi poco profondamente :

Intrjwš

Fig. 2.

Non vi sono elementi per decidere sull'attribuzione del pezzo a Dario I oppure a Dario II.

Questo tipo di coltello a doppio taglio è conosciuto in Egitto fin dalla più remota antichità, ed è tipicamente egiziano [3].

Il nostro coltello doveva essere un oggetto votivo o forse un coltello da cerimonia.

III. VASO AD ORECCHIETTE DEL XIII° ANNO DI ARTASERSE I (Tav. I, *b*)

In alabastro venato, proviene dalla regione menfita. Doveva probabilmente contenere unguenti destinati al re. La sua forma è quella tipica dell'epoca saita e più tarda. Misure : alt. cm. 8, diametro base cm. 12,5, diam. apertura cm. 5,4.

[1] POSENER, *o. c.* in opposizione a BURCHARDT, *ZÄS*, 49 (1911), pg. 19.

[2] Nella lega deve entrare quindi una alta percentuale d'oro.

[3] Cfr. Fl. PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pg. 26 e pl. XXX, U 24.

L'iscrizione aramaica, in nero, un po' sbiadita, ma leggibilissima, contiene la datazione completa :

«nel terzo giorno di Pachons, tredicesimo anno di Artaserse re.»

Quasi regolarmente, nei testi aramaici egiziani, la datazione è doppia, indicata cioè secondo il calendario babilonese e quello egiziano [1]. Qui è seguito solo il calendario egiziano : Pachons è il primo mese della stagione estiva, *šmw*. (, copt. ⲡⲁϣⲱⲛⲥ, raram. ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲛⲥ) ; la pronuncia del *ḫ* nel nome del mese, nel 5° sec. a. C., era dunque *ḫ*, non ancora *š* (come in copto, più tardi), come prova la trascrizione aramaica COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri*, n. 51; 14, 1; 29, 5; 35, 8; 50, 2.

Il tredicesimo anno di Artaserse I è il 451 a. C.

Il testo è anche paleograficamente molto interessante, potendo servire, essendo datato, come base di confronto per l'assegnazione alla stessa epoca di testi non datati.

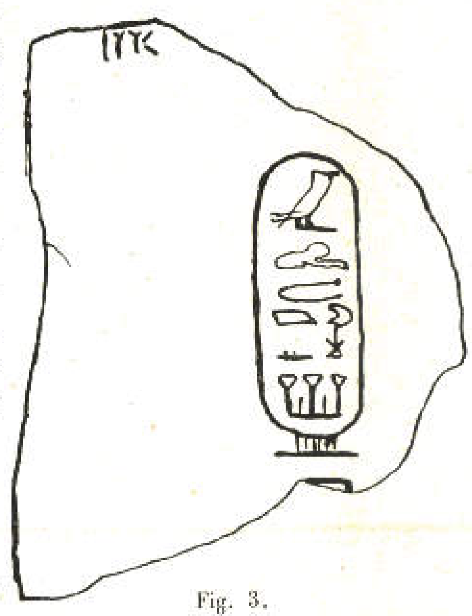


Fig. 3.

IV. FRAMMENTO DI VASO DI ARTASERSE I (fig. 3)

Questo piccolo frammento, di alabastro (misure : alt. cm. 8, largh. cm. 5,5), presenta in alto a sinistra alcuni segni cuneiformi : tutti i vasi noti di Serse e di Artaserse hanno, oltre alla iscrizione geroglifica, anche una iscrizione cuneiforme trilingue, in ant. persiano, elamita e babilonese.

[1] Cfr. PARKER, *Persian and Egyptian Chronology*, in *American Journ. of Semit. Lang.* 58 (1941), 285 sgg. e il recente articolo di HORN e WOOD, *The Fifth Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine*, in *JNES*, 12, 1953.

Il nostro frammento viene ad aggiungersi ai quatro vasi e al frammento di vaso già noti, appartenenti ad Artaserse [1].

Sotto il cartiglio, disposto verticalmente, è visibile la parte superiore del segno ▭, da completare ▭ oppure ▭ ✕ ▭ [2].

Il luogo di ritrovamento è sconosciuto, ma sicuramente proviene dall'Egitto.

V. FRAMMENTO DI PIATTO COL NOME DI ARTASERSE (fig. 4)

Il frammento è in diorite verde cupo e grigio. L'altezza dal piano dell'orlo alla base del piatto è di cm. 3, mentre lo spessore è cm. 5,5.



Fig. 4.

Il piatto, come possiamo calcolare, aveva una larghezza originaria di cm. 21,5 di diametro [3]. Il luogo d'origine è ignoto, ma è senza dubbio in Egitto.

Sul lato esterno, incisa a incavo e assai profondamente, una iscrizione geroglifica : (fig. 4).

«([ ]) [geroglifici] ([geroglifici])» : «[ ] figlio di Artaserse».

Del cartiglio che circondava il primo nome reale, andato perduto, è rimasta la parte superiore del segno verticale. È molto interessante trovare su di un monumento egiziano un nome di re seguito dal nome del padre [4].

La grafia del nome di Artaserse, diversa da quelle note finora, sembra ricalcare la forma cuneiforme del nome : Artḫšašša.

(1) Posener, *o. c.*, n. 78-82.

(2) Posener, *o. c.*, pg. 146, tipo B e tipo A.

(3) Destinato probabilmente ad uso votivo. Non si conoscono esempi di piatti simili in questa epoca. Anche il materiale, pietra dura, è raro.

(4) I faraoni egiziani erano dei «figli di Râ»; così si denominarono anche i sovrani achemenidi in Egitto, adeguandosi all'uso del paese. Qui è influenzato forse dall'esempio persiano. Esiste tuttavia un esempio simile per un sovrano egiziano : (Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, IV, pg. 182, 11) (Osir-Teos) figlio di (Harsiesi) (non il Teos della XXXª dinastia ma un piccolo re anteriore). Per l'epoca tolemaica, posso citare l'esempio (in Gauthier, *L. R.*, IV, pg. 247, XII) di (Tolomeo, vivente eternamente, amato da Ptah) figlio di (Tolomeo).

Nel cartiglio andato perduto, dobbiamo probabilmente integrare «Darius», cioè Dario II, successore di Artaserse I, che ha regnato in Egitto dal 424 al 404 circa, a. C.

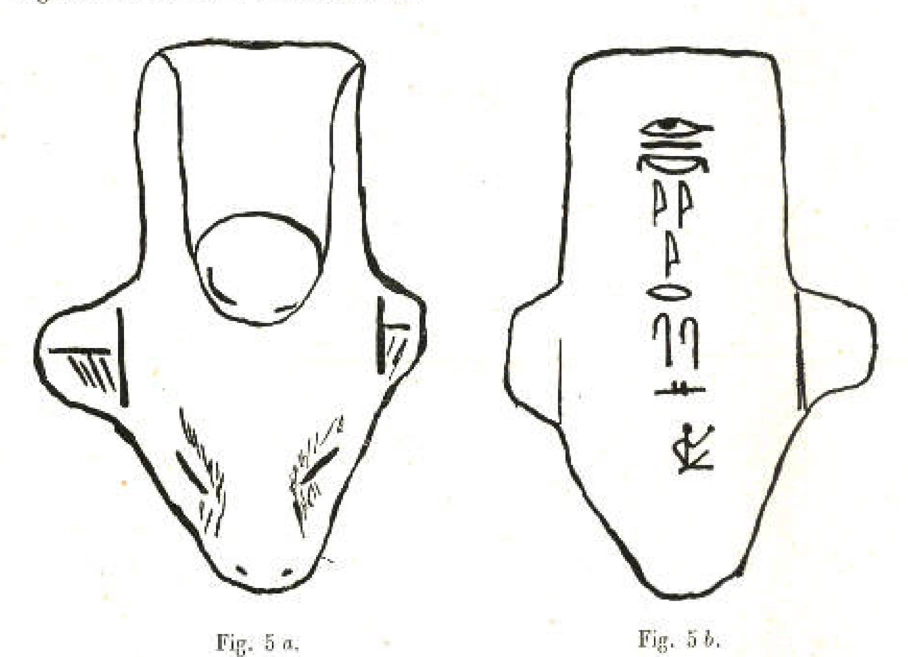


Fig. 5 *a*. Fig. 5 *b*.

Non si può tuttavia escludere che possa trattarsi invece di Arses, figlio di Artaserse III, del cui breve regno, ci è conservato in Egitto una testimonianza : un coperchio di vaso col suo nome in geroglifici [1].

VI. TESTINA IN CALCARE DEL BUE APIS (fig. 5, *a* e *b*)

La piccola testa del bue sacro, sormontata dal disco solare tra le corna, misura di lunghezza cm. 7,5. In calcare, non presenta tracce di colore; è assai ben conservata, solo è corroso l'orecchio sinistro.

(1) Petrie, *Scarabs a. Cylinders*, pg. 33, 40, Tav. LVII, 31, 2.

Nella parte posteriore, la testa è piatta per circa due terzi a partire dalla punta delle corna, e vi si legge la dedica dell'offerente, in geroglifici disposti verticalmente :

« fatto dall'orefice [1] IRSSS. » L'espressione « *ir n* » = « fatto da » è frequente nelle dediche di statue e altro. La testina era evidentemente un dono votivo al bue sacro di Menfi.

IRSSS è un nome proprio, sicuramente iranico [2]. Si può pensare ad una trascrizione del noto nome persiano Arses, portato anche dal figlio di Artaserse III [3].

Il dedicante della testina era dunque un orefice persiano, stabilitosi in Egitto al seguito degli invasori.

Così, si può pensare all'opera di un orefice persiano in Egitto piuttosto che ad un pezzo importato dalla Persia, per il balteo di placche d'oro, con l'immagine di Ahuramazda, trovato a Mendes [4].

Egualmente, anche la placca di pietra, decorata con figure di animali, di fattura iranica [5], servì da modello ad un orefice persiano, residente, come Arses in Egitto.

Edda Bresciani.

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[1] *nbj* — « orefice », *WB.* II, 241.

[2] Per la trascrizione AR-/IR- dei nomi persiani, cfr. Posener, *o. c.*, n. 24, 29, 31.

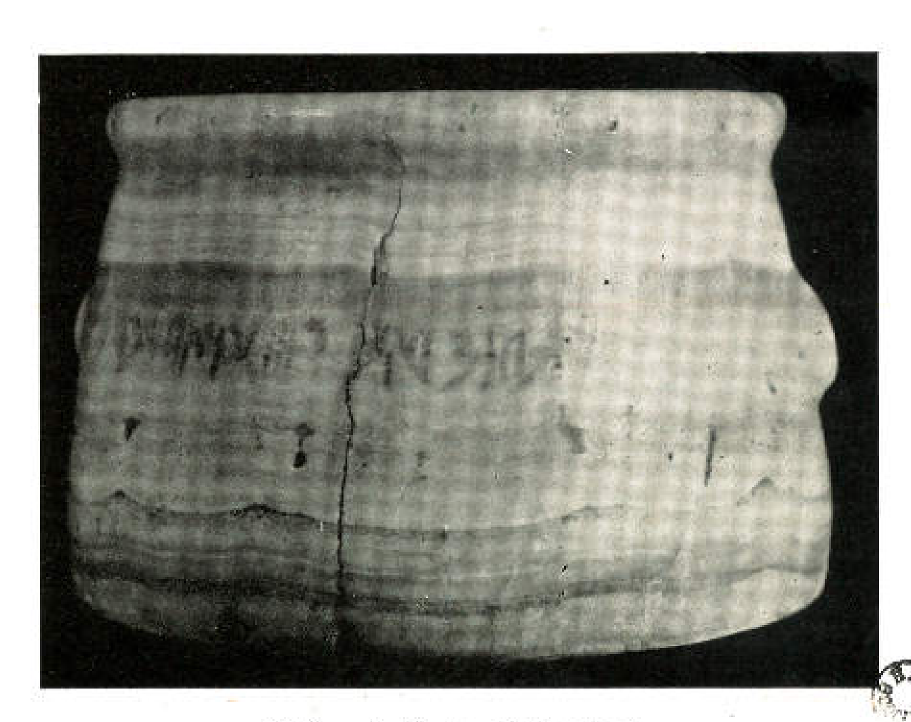
[3] Si deve pensare che almeno uno dei tre *s* sia una aggiunta erronea del trascrittore. Cfr. il nome persiano Artama, trascritto in egiz. come ARTMS (Posener, *o. c.*, n. 24, 29, 31), con *s* finale inesistente nell'originale iranico. Michaelidis, *ASAE*, 43 (1943), pg. 96, pensa che tale terminazione possa essere presa dalla forma grecizzata del nome. La spiegazione si adatterebbe anche al nostro nome.

[4] Maspero, *Guide M. Caire* (1902), pg. 437.

[5] Frankfort, *A persian Goldsmith's trial piece*, in *JNES*, 9 (1950), n. 2, pl. III, e Roes, *Achemenid influence upon egyptian and nomad art*, in *Artibus Asiae*, XV (1952), pg. 17 ff, e fig. 6.



(*a*) Situla in maiolica di Dario I.



(*b*) Vaso di alabastro di Artaserse I.

NUOVI DOCUMENTI ARAMAICI DALL'EGITTO

DI

EDDA BRESCIANI

I.

UNA BENDA E TRE ETICHETTE DI MUMMIA

Del materiale aramaico finora non facevano parte etichette di mummia in legno e bende di mummia. Questo particolare, unito al luogo d'origine dei documenti che presentiamo [1] (Mellawi per la benda, Saqqarah sud per le tre etichette) e all'assegnazione alla metà del v° sec. a. C. che il confronto paleografico permette di fare [2], rendono meritevoli di speciale interesse questi piccoli monumenti.

1. BENDA DI MUMMIA (Tav. I, *a*)

(Parte di benda, con iscrizione, in nero, lungh. cm. 16,5, alt. cm. 2). Tessuto di lino, uniforme e assai spesso.

חרמנתן בר עשתרתנתן «Haramnatan figlio di Astartnatan».

= «Haramnatan» = «Haram ha dato» [3]. L'elemento—«natan» = «ha dato» che figura in nomi teofori di composizione affine come Jonatan,

[1] Ringrazio il sign. Georges Michaelidis che così cortesemente me ne ha permesso lo studio e la pubblicazione.

[2] Cfr. soprattutto Rosenthal, *Die Aramaïstischen Forschung*, Schrifttaf, 3.

[3] Lo stesso nome figura in Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 18, 4; Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Egypte*, 97, *a*, *b*, 100, *a*, *b*; Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri*, 8, 12. Un Haramsezeb è nominato in un graffito di Dašur, in Morgan, *Fouilles à Dashur*, I, pg. 77.

Elnatan, Betelnatan, Astartnatan, assicura che Haram è una divinità: esso è la divinizzazione della «cinta sacra» del tempio[1].

עשתרתנתן = «Astartnatan» = «Astarte ha dato», gr. Στρατων[2].

La benda fa parte della collezione Michaelidis e al proprietario ne è stato indicato come luogo d'origine Mellawi. Possiamo pensare che il luogo di provenienza del pezzo sia in realtà Tuna el Gebel, dove gli scavi di Sami Gabra hanno trovato un certo numero di papiri aramaici di epoca persiana[3], che testimoniano per il v° sec. a. C. dell'esistenza a Ermopoli, di una colonia di mercenari semiti.

A questo gruppo di coloni stanziati ad Ermopoli è probabile appartenesse anche il Haramnatan della nostra benda; in particolare il suo nome indicherebbe una origine siriaca.

2. ETICHETTA DI MUMMIA (Tav. I, *b*).

(cm. 11 per cm. 4,5). Legno molto venato.

מלכיה בר אוריה «Malkiah figlio di Auriah»

מלכיה = «Malkiah» = «Yahu è re». Questo nome teoforo è già noto dai papiri aramaici di Elefantina.

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(1) Da mettere in relazione con l'arabo «haram», «cinta sacra». Albright, *Archeology and Religion of Israel*, pg. 174, lo interpreta come «Sacredness of the house of God». M. Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personennamen*, pg. 129, lo connette con l'ebreo «harem» «bando». Per la divinizzazione degli oggetti sacri presso i semiti, Cfr. Vincent, *La Religion des judéo-aram. d'Eléphantine*, pg. 580, Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, pg. 112-113, Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri Introd.* pg. 21. Una conferma della divinizzazione anche del tempio, si è avuta dalle lettere aramaiche da Ermopoli ovest, che iniziano con i saluti indirizzati ai templi dei vari dei a Siene, Nebu, Banit-a-Siene, Betel, Melkat-šemin: i testi non sono ancora pubblicati, ma cfr. relazioni di Murad Kamil in *Actes du XXI*e *Congrès des Orientalistes*, pg. 106 e in *Bull. Inst. Egypte*, 28 (1947), pg. 253 sgg.

(2) Stesso nome in Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 27, 7.

(3) Cfr. la relazione dello scavatore, in *Bull. Inst. Eg.* 28 (1947), p. 161-162, e le comunicazioni di Murad Kamil, *ibid.*, pg. 253 sgg. e *Revue de l'Histoire juive en Egypte*, 1 (1947), pg. 1-3.

אוריה = «Uriah». Da avvicinare a אור «fuoco» e «luce»; è un nome frequente tra i coloni ebrei di Elefantina[1].

Paleograficamente, è notevole la legatura mem-lamed in Malkiah, tipicamente frequente nella scrittura aramaica egiziana del v° sec. a. C.

3. ETICHETTA DI MUMMIA (Tav. I, *c*).

(cm. 8 per cm. 4). Legno piuttosto scuro e levigato.

שאיל בר בעדיה «Sail figlio di Badiah».

שאיל = «Sail»: nome già noto da un testo aramaico d'Egitto[2]. Possiamo confrontare il bibl. שאול il più tardo palmireno שאילא = gr. Σεειλα[3].

בעדיה = «Badiah» = «Yahu è per me»[4]. L'uso di בעד «pro» sembra denotare una influenza linguistica aramaica.

Paleograficamente, per la forma dello aleph in Sail (vedi anche in Etich. IV, «Abah»), cf. Kraeling, Brooklyn M. Aram. Pap., n. 9, 25. Interessante la legatura beta-âin in Badiah.

4. ETICHETTA DI MUMMIA (Tav. I, *d*).

(cm. 13 per cm. 3). Legno compatto, chiaro.

ישעיה בר אבה בר חגי «Isaiah figlio di Abah figlio di Haggai.»

ישעיה = «Isaiah» = «che Yahu salvi»; nome ebreo noto e frequente anche nei documenti aramaici di Elefantina[5].

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(1) Cowley, *A. P.* 6, 9; 8, 2 e passim.

(2) Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 99 (Sarcofago in terracotta di un «Sail sacerdote di Nebo, abitante a Siene»). Un «Abdyn figlio di Sail» si trova nel documento II, vedi sotto pag. 280.

(3) Cook, *A Glossary of the aramaic Inscript.*, sotto v. שאיל; Inscript. Palmyr. 17, 3; 18, 2; 95, 3. Nelle lettere aram. di Tuna el Gebel, si trova il nome proprio שאל, cfr. Murad Kamil, *Bull. Inst. Eg.* 8, pg. 255, e *Rev. Hist. juive in Eg.*, 1 (1947), pg. 2.

(4) Cowley, *A. P.* 19, 2; 25, 18, Vincent, *La religion des judéo-aram.*, pg. 398.

(5) Vincent, *o. c.*, pg. 404.

אבה = « Abah » [1], probabilmente lo stesso nome che אבא [2]. Di un Abah, figlio di Hor, abbiamo, da Saqqarah, la stele funeraria bilingue del IV° anno di Serse (482 a. C.) [3].

חגי = « Haggai » = « Yahu è la mia festa », nome molto frequente tra gli ebrei di Elefantina.

Gli scavi del Jéquier a Saqqarah sud, che riportarono alla luce un certo numero di monumenti aramaici, sarcofagi di terracotta e vari cocci iscritti avevano provato come in tal luogo dovesse trovarsi la necropoli degli stranieri semiti abitanti a Memfi nell'epoca persiana.

Due testi, pubblicati dall'Aimé-Giron [4], avevano fatto supporre probabile l'esistenza di una colonia ebrea a Memfi [5].

Ora le nostre etichette, vengono a provare in maniera definitiva che a Memfi, nel v° sec. a. C., si trovava anche una colonia di fedeli adoratori di Yahu.

II.

TAVOLETTA DI LEGNO CON ISCRIZIONE

Proveniente dalla regione memfita ed appartenente anch'essa alla collezione Michaelidis, la tavoletta con iscrizione aramaica (misure : alt. cm. 12, largh. cm. 4,5) che qui studiamo appare per vari aspetti meritevole di nota.

[1] Anche in Cowley, *A. P.*, 6, 16. Probabilmente è l'abbreviazione di אביה « Yahu è mio padre ». Vincent, *o. c.*, pg. 395.

[2] Cook, *o. c.*, n. 122.

[3] Burchardt, *Datierte Denkmäl. aus dem Achämen.-zeit*, in *ZÄS* 49 (1911), pg. 72, n. V. Questo Abah, però, è del tutto egittizzato, porta lui stesso un soprannome egiziano, *Ḥr-tp*, ed è devoto di Osiride. Il nome del padre, Hor, è un nome egiziano.

[4] *Textes*, ostr. I e pap. n. 33, e pg. 58.

[5] Cfr. la notizia di Geremia, 44, 1, sui contingenti ebrei stabiliti a Menfi sotto Apries. Come nome di luogo e per un'epoca più tarda, un Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον nominati in Giuseppe Flavio, *Ant.* XIV, *Bell. Iud.* I, 9, 4. Anche la stele di Chahape testimonia di « *P-tꜣ-Jht* », un « campo di ebrei » a Menfi, nella prima epoca tolemaica, cfr. Sethe, *Spuren* etc. in *Nach. GGW*, 1916, pg. 128.

Essa è scritta su ambedue i lati e contiene da una parte l'elenco di certe quantità di artabe di fave, con la somma finale, divise tra cinque individui dei quali sono dati nome e patronimico, dall'altra parte presenta un nome proprio, seguito dal patronimico e dall'indicazione della carica : sacerdote di Ešmun.

Siamo abituati a trovare annotazioni di tale tipo, o su papiro, o su ostraca. Qui invece è impiegato, esempio unico a mia conoscenza, una levigata tavoletta di legno.

Ma, a parte questa caratteristica per così dire esteriore, il nostro documento offre alcuni motivi di interesse più propriamente storico.

Databile al v° sec. a. C., ci fa conoscere alcuni nuovi nomi propri che arricchiscono, così, l'onomastica della popolazione semita stanziata in Egitto all'epoca della dominazione persiana.

Ma è soprattutto notevole per il nuovo dato che il testo porta alla storia religiosa delle comunità semite in Egitto : la presenza di Rehemetesin « sacerdote di Ešmun » ci fa postulare l'esistenza di un culto organizzato, finora non attestato da alcun documento aramaico egiziano, del dio fenicio Ešmun.

TESTO : (Tav. II, *a* e *b*)

	recto :		*verso :*
1.	טלפחן	1.	לרחמתסן
2.	לעבדנבו	2.	בר אסרסלטח
3.	בר כלבא א II	3.	בבני כמרא
4.	לשמן בר	4.	אשמן
5.	אשמנדכח א II		
6.	לשבא בר		
7.	אעלא א III		
8.	לפחי בר		
9.	אשמרם א II		
10.	לעבדין		
11.	בר שאיל א II		
12.	ארדב א II		

Traduzione :

recto :		verso :	
1.	Fave :	1.	Di Rehemetsin
2.	a Abdunebo	2.	figlio di Assurselmat
3.	figlio di Kalba a(rtabe) 2	3.	bebeni sacerdote di
4.	a Šemen figlio	4.	Ešmun.
5.	di Ašimmadbaḥ a(rtabe) 2		
6.	a Šeba figlio di		
7.	Aâla a(rtabe) 3		
8.	a Peḥi figlio di		
9.	Ašimram a(rtabe) 2		
10.	a Abdyn		
11.	figlio di Sail a(rtabe) 2		
12.	artabe 11		

Commento :

recto :

l. 1. מלפחן Anche in Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, n. 2, 4, 5; 3, 5, 6, 8. Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, 87*a*, 14. Nell'aramaico egiziano esiste anche un altro termine per « fave » : פול, cfr. arabo ful. Vedi Dupont-Sommer, *ASAE*, 1948, pg. 116.

l. 2. עבדנבו = « servitore di Nebo ». Già noto, questo nome, in Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 27, 40.

Il dio Nebo (che godeva di particolare devozione, insieme con Marduk e Nergal, nel regno caldeo-babilonese e persiano) lo troviamo assai frequentemente come elemento compositivo in nomi propri di semiti in Egitto. Nebo possedeva un tempio a Siene, cfr. Murad Kamil, *Actes du XXIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, pg. 106 sg. e forse uno anche a Menfi (Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 99 : sarcofago a Saqqarah sud di Sail sacerdote di Nebo a Siene).

l. 3. כלבא = « Kalba », « cane ». Cf. fenicio כלבו e כלבא delle iscriz. nabatee, Cook, *A glossary of the aram. Inscript.* Forse una abbreviazione di כלבאלם (Clermont-Ganneau, *Et. Arch. Orient.*, pg. 155).

l. 4. א = abbrev. per ארדב, che troviamo scritto completo in linea 12. Anche in Cowley, *A. P.*, 24, 1; 81, 4, 5; 83, 8. Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, 87*a*, 14.
שמן = « Šmen ». Nome proprio nuovo.

l. 5. אשמםדבח = « Ašimmadbaḥ ». Nuovo nome proprio. In terra siriaca, il tempio era formato dalla cinta sacra (la cui divinizzazione era il dio Ḥaram), al cui centro risiedeva la divinità (Betel ne era la divinizzazione) e un altare (dio Madbaḥ) [1]. Con queste divinità, divinizzazioni di parti del tempio, sembra faccia gruppo anche Ašim [2]. A Elefantina conosciamo i composti divini Ḥarambetel, Anatbetel e Ašimbetel. « Ašimmadbaḥ » sembra essere un composto della stessa specie. Come nome proprio, tuttavia, sorprenderebbe, sicchè si deve forse pensare ad una forma abbreviata.

l. 6. שבא = « Šeba ». Nome proprio nuovo. Dai *Textes*, dell'Aimé-Giron, si conosce un femm. Šebu. Si possono anche citare a confronto i nomi propri maschili, posteriori, nabateo שבי e palmireno שבא (= gr. σαβας).

l. 7. אעלא = « Aâla ». Nome proprio nuovo nei testi aramaici egiziani. Cfr. Cook, *A Glossary, Inscript. Sinai*, 76, 117, 151, 343; forse da mettere in rapporto con *βαρεαλας* = « Figlio di Aâlas » (Cfr. *Journ. d'Assyriol.* 1896, VIII, 329).

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(1) מדבח, conosciuto solo dalla trascriz. gr. Μάδβαχος delle iscriz. del Gebel Cheik Barakat (Clermont-Ganneau, *Et. Arch. Orient.* II, pg. 35 sgg., Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, pg. 112.

(2) Sul suo significato, gli specialisti non sono d'accordo. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3, 261, sgg. pensa sia semplicemente la parola per « nome », Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, pg. 115, propende a vedervi il *σημηιον*, (in Luciano, *De dea Syria*, c. 33) : il greco sarebbe non solo trascriz. del nome indigeno, ma anche il significato della parola greca sarebbe lo stesso che l'originale siriaco « segno (del cielo) ». « Segno » che forse veniva scritto sul Betilo, cfr. il Συμβέτυλος. Noth, *Israelitisch. Personennamen*, pg. 124 sgg., Vincent, *La religion des judéo-aram. d'Eléph.*, pg. 418 e 663, vi vedono il dio siriano Sulman-Ešmun. Cfr. Kraeling, *Brooklyn M. Aram. Pap.*, Intr. pg. 90.

l. 8. פחי = «Pehi», nome proprio egiziano, già noto in Cowley, *A. P.*, 14, 2, 12; 51, 4; 81, 11, Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 105, Brooklyn M. Aram. Pap. 12, 20. Cfr. Spiegelberg, *Aeg. Sprachgut*, n. 98, gr. Παχοΐς. Cfr. anche Tallqvist, *Assyrian Pers. Names*, 179, «Pa-hi-i».

l. 9. אשמרם = «Ašimram», «(il dio) Ašim è elevato». Già noto in Cowley, *A. P.*, 53, 9; Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 110; Brooklyn M. Aram. Pap. 8, 11; cfr. *sopra*, l. 5.

l. 10. עבדין = «Abdyn». Nome nuovo. Si può pensare ad una forma abbreviata, questo essendo il predicato, pl. part. di עבד. Cfr. in Brooklyn M. Aram. Pap. 8, 112, שוין.

l. 11. שאיל = «Sail». Nome proprio, noto in Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, n. 99 (Sail sacerdote di Nebo) e anche sopra, DOC. I, n. 3. Etich. di mummia, pg. 275.

l. 12. Qui la parola ארדב è scritta per disteso. Per la forma del simbolo per 10, cfr. Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, pg. 27.

verso :

l. 1. רחמתסן = «Rhmtsn». Nome proprio nuovo, formato dal sost. רחמת = «misericordia», con il nome del dio Sin [1] come secondo elemento = «Misericordia di Sin». Cfr. il nome ʿAhatsin אחתסן «Sorella di Sin», di composizione affine, nelle lettere aramaiche di Tuna el Gebel, vedi Murad Kamil, in *Bull. Inst. Eg.*, XVIII, pg. 255 e *Rev. hist. Juive. en Eg.* I (1947), pg. 2.

Egli è evidentemente il padrone delle artabe di fave, prestate o distribuite in pagamento non sappiamo non essendoci alcuna indicazione al riguardo.

[1] Cfr. Combe, *Histoire du Culte du dieu Sin*. Il nostro testo conferma l'ipotesi di Aimé-Giron, *Textes*, pg. 16, n. 5, 6, che in tale modo fosse da completare un nome proprio incompleto.

l. 2. Il nome del padre sembra essere אסרסלמתבבני, un nuovo teoforo composto con il nome del dio Assur, «la benedizione di Assur nei miei figli» [1].

l. 3. כמרא = «sacerdote», nome usato dagli ebrei per indicare i sacerdoti di altri dei che Yahu, per i sacerdoti del quale usano invece כהן. Cfr. Vincent, *o. c.*, pg. 456.

l. 4. אשמן = «Ešmun». E' il dio fenicio Ešmun, adorato principalmente a Berito e a Sidone. Rehemetsin era sacerdote del dio : si può supporre che a Menfi esistesse un tempio di questa divinità.

III.

VASO DI LEGNO CON ISCRIZIONE ARAMAICA

Questo vasetto di legno (cm. 9,5 di altezza, cm. 6,5 diametro massimo) proviene dalla regione memfita. Di legno oscuro, ben levigato, è in buono stato di conservazione.

La fattura è del tutto originale : a forma quasi di pina, la sua superficie presenta nove coste in rilievo, orizzontali e parallele (Tav. III *a* e *b*).

Sicuramente non di tipo egiziano, lo crederei di modello, o forse meglio di importazione, fenicia.

Sulla superficie del vaso è tracciata in nero, leggibile benchè confusa con il colore bruno oscuro del legno, una iscrizione aramaica, la cui forma paleografica indica il v°-iv° sec. a. C. (Tav. III *b*) :

משהאל כמרא ליענת «Mešehel sacerdote di Anat».

[1] In una iscrizione aramaico-fenicia delle cave di Maʿsârah, pubblicata dal Sayce, *JEA*, X, pg. 16, n. 2, ricorre la parola בבני (במיברשמל בבני) che il Sayce traduce «babilonese» aggiungendo che la Babilonia di cui si tratta deve essere quella Egiziana, nominata così per la prima volta. Dobbiamo anche nel nostro testo leggere בבני a l. 3 separato dal nome proprio אסרסלמת che resterebbe nella linea precedente, e intenderlo come l'etnico (= בבלי = babilonese)?

משהאל nome proprio nuovo, formato con l'elemento אל «dio», come numerosi nomi semitici; non abbiamo suggerimenti per la prima parte del nome.

ענת. L'introduzione di questa dea in Egitto, che troviamo attestata dal XIV° sec. a. C. [1] è dovuta ad una influenza cananao-fenicia.

Per la prima volta, nei documenti aramaici egiziani finora noti, il nome della dea appare da solo. Nei papiri di Elefantina, infatti, il nome di Anat appare solo nella composizione Anat-Betel e Anat-Yahu [2] che indica la divinità femminile associata a Yahu nel culto degli ebrei di Elefantina.

E' evidentemente al culto idolatro di Anat-Betel (Anat-Yahu) che Geremia, 44, 15 sgg. si riferisce quando rimprovera agli ebrei di Elefantina la devozione alla «regina del cielo» [3].

Indipendentemente da Anat-Betel, paredra di Yahu, propria del sincretismo religioso degli ebrei di Egitto, Anat era venerata in Egitto

[1] Sull'origine cananeo-amorrea di Anat e sulla zona Siria-Palestina come centro di diffusione del suo culto, cfr. Dhorme, *Les Amorrhéens*, in *Rev. Bibl.* 1928, pg. 165, Vincent, *La religion*, pg. 632. Accanto al dio cananeo Hurun, Anat ha un posto molto importante nella religione dei sovrani di Tanis: un tempio di Anta-Anat è stato trovato a Tanis durante gli scavi Montet 1929-1932. La figlia favorita di Ramses II si chiamava Bent-Anat «figlia di Anat» (Gauthier, *L. R.*, III, 102-103). Sotto il regno di Ramses II, conosciamo da un ostrakon ieratico il nome Ben-Anat («figlio di Anat», *R.T.*, XVI, pg. 64). Il culto di Anat continua fino in bassa epoca: monete di epoca romana trovate a Tanis (scavi Montet 1934-1935) portano il nome e l'immagine della dea.

[2] Cowley, *A.P.*, n. 22, 125; 44, 3. Non sono due divinità separate, ma una stessa divinità: Vincent, *o. c.*, pg. 62.

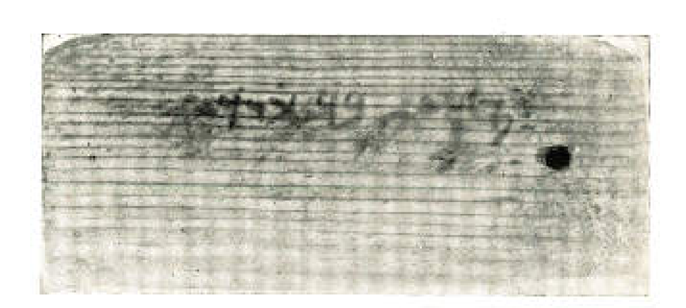
[3] Vincent, *o. c.*, pg. 648. A partire da una certa epoca, i siro-palestinesi ed egiziani hanno identificato Astarte, Qadeš e Anat: come Qadeš, Anat è «la regina del cielo», cfr. le due stele da Beisan, Rowe, *Beth-Shan*, pg. 33, pl. 50; n. 2 e pl. 48, n. 2 e il rilievo egiziano al British Museum, *Guide to the Brit. Mus. Egypt. Coll.*, pl. XL. I papiri aramaici da Tuna el-Gebel, che abbiamo già avuto occasione di citare, attestano la presenza a Siene di un tempio di «Melkat-šemin», della «regina del cielo». Si può forse pensare che Melkat-šemin sia l'appellativo per indicare Anat, e che quindi Anat aveva un suo santuario a Siene?

con un culto organizzato, come prova il testo del nostro documento, originario da Menfi. Che un tempio della dea dovesse trovarsi proprio a Menfi non ne viene di consequenza, ma è molto probabile che in questa città, densa di popolazione straniera, si trovassero, nell'area dei diversi stratopeda, anche santuari di divinità straniere [1].

Edda Bresciani.

[1] Erodoto parla di *Τυρίων στρατοπεδον* a Menfi. La presenza di popolazione fenicia in Egitto è attestata da numerosi documenti, dal VII° sec. a. C. fino ad epoca bassa, a Elefantina, a Tebe, a Ipsambul, ad Abido, a Menfi, nel Delta (a Dafne era adorato particolarmente il dio Baal Sifon: cfr. Aimé-Giron, *Adversaria Semitica*, III *ASAE*, XL, p. 433 ff). La stele funeraria (*circa* 500 a.C.) di un sacerdote di Baal sposo di Anot (= dea Anat) [oppure «signore di Anot (città)»] probabilmente originaria da Saqqarah, è stata pubblicata da Dupont-Sommer, in *Syria*, XXXIII (1956), p. 79-87.

a. — Banda di mummia.



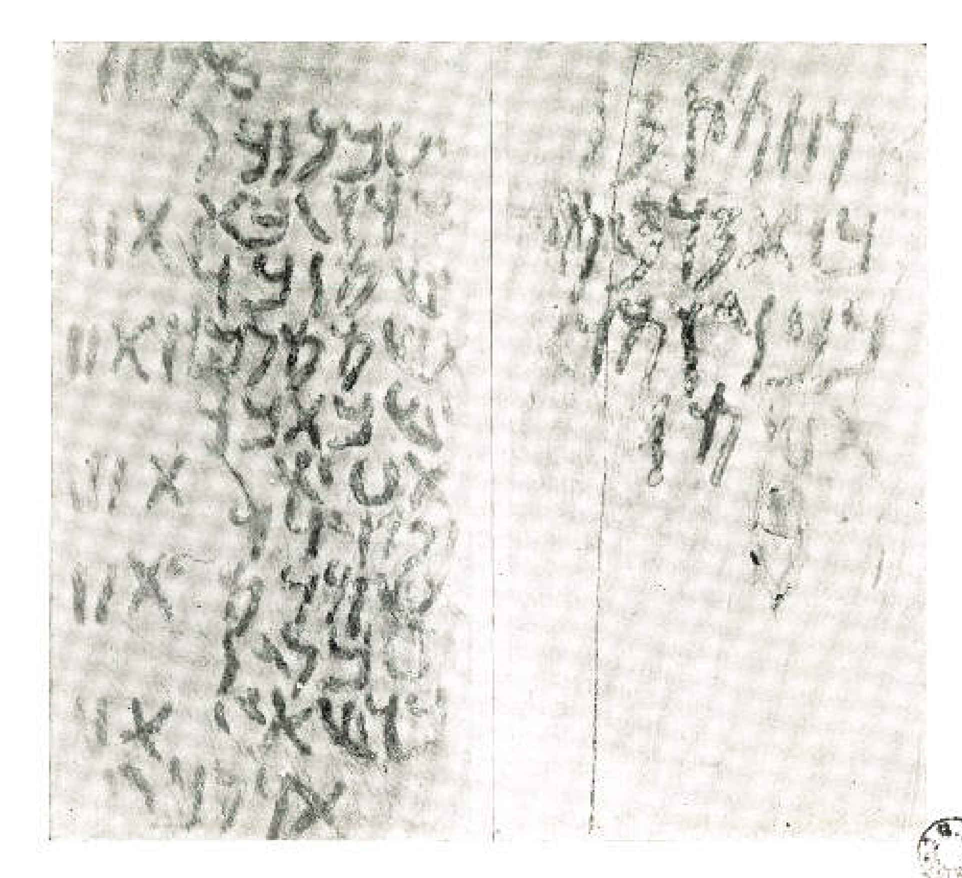
b. — Etichetta di mummia.



c. — Etichetta di mummia.



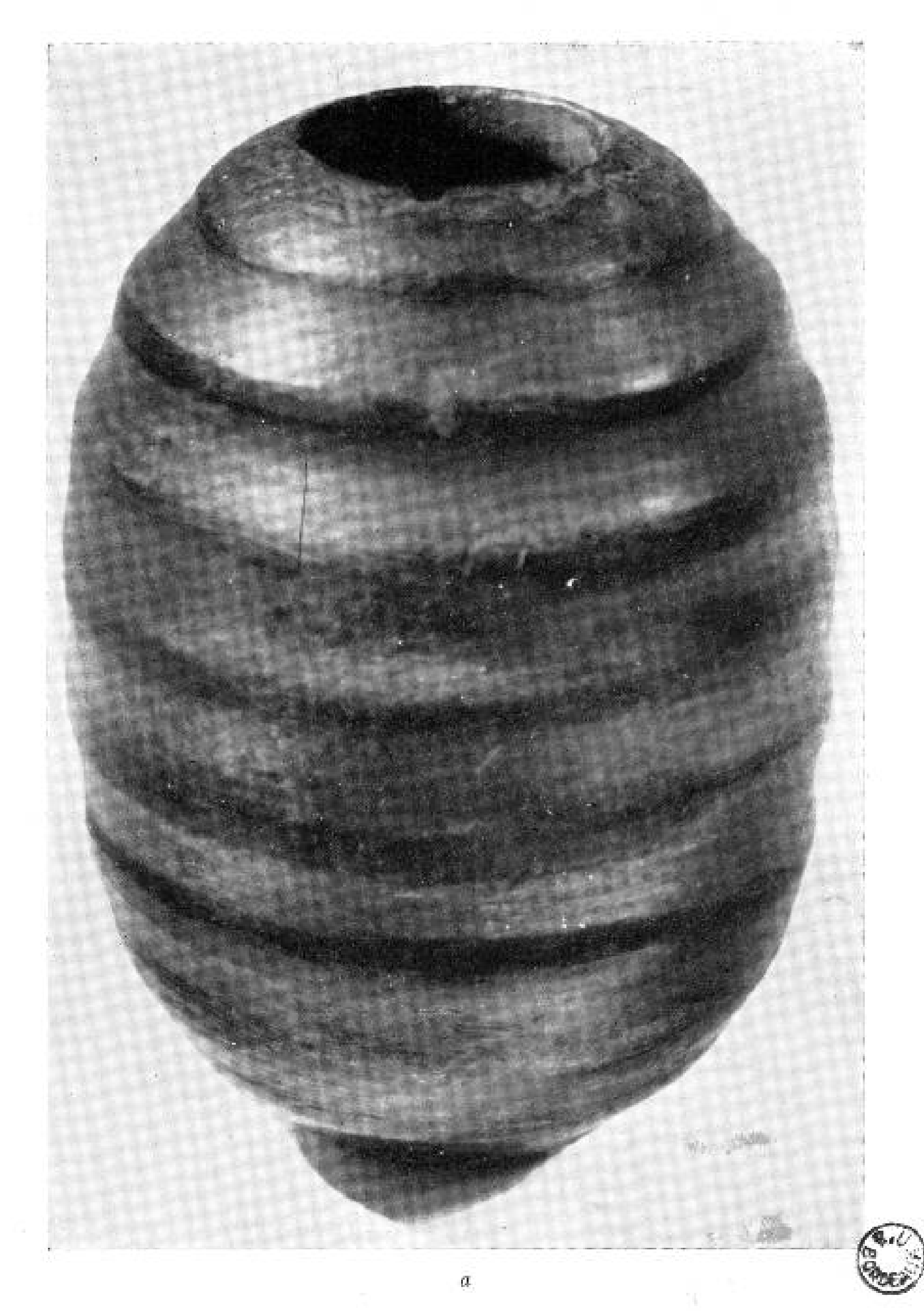
d. — Etichetta di mummia.



a. — recto.

b. — verso.

Tavoletta con iscrizione aramaica.



a

b

Vasi di legno con iscrizione aramaica.

LE TABLEAU D'OSIRIS ET LES DIVISIONS V, VI, ET VII DU LIVRE DES PORTES

(*suite*)

PAR

ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

LE TABLEAU D'OSIRIS DANS LA TOMBE DE RAMSÈS VI

(Pl. I et II)

La «Scène de Métempsycose», c'est-à-dire, le Tableau d'Osiris dans la tombe de Ramsès VI décrit par Champollion est assez mal conservé[1]. Toutefois, après de nombreuses collations nous sommes arrivés à établir le texte. C'est surtout la grande inscription au-dessus des représentations qui présente à première vue le plus de difficultés. Cette inscription est coupée en deux par un espace vide. La première partie, à gauche, qui se lit de droite à gauche est de neuf colonnes (les deux dernières colonnes sont placées devant la figure d'Osiris, plus bas que le reste). L'inscription a été embrouillée par le décorateur qui a reproduit le texte de l'original en commençant par la dernière colonne. Si l'on place ces colonnes une au-dessus de l'autre on obtient les textes 3 et 4 de la tombe de Horemheb (fig. 1)[2].

Les signes de l'original étaient disposés selon la figure 2.

La deuxième inscription, à droite, contient les textes 12, 6, 7 et 5 de Horemheb. Le texte 12 est embrouillé, car, encore une fois, il a été copié en commençant par la fin et disposé en colonnes de différentes longueurs que celles de l'original. Le texte commence en bas de la colonne

[1] *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, t. LV, p. 160, note 1.
[2] *Annales du Service*, t. LV, pl. V de mon article.

marquée 3, continue dans la colonne 4 et s'arrête au milieu de la colonne 5. Ceci est la première colonne de l'original. La deuxième colonne commençait par le dernier signe de la colonne 1 de Ramsès VI, contenait tous les signes de la deuxième colonne et se terminait au milieu de la colonne 3 (fig. 3). Le texte de l'original se présentait donc comme sur la figure 4.

Ainsi les textes énigmatiques de la tombe de Ramsès VI sont identiques, à part quelques variantes graphiques, aux inscriptions de Horemheb, du sarcophage de Seti I et de l'Osiréion.

Quant à l'interprétation de ces inscriptions qui depuis longtemps suivant le mot de Maspero «exercised the ingenuity» de nombreux égyptologues, il faut reconnaître que ces exercices n'ont pas été très satisfaisants[1]. En tout cas il faut se rapeller que si les textes dans les tombes royales sont souvent mutilés, copiés en commençant par la fin, en général mal compris par les décorateurs, les textes énigmatiques sont souvent traités de la même manière et l'établissement du texte doit précéder à son interprétation.

Le Battant

Comme tous les pylônes du Livre des Portes, celui de la cinquième division a un battant sur lequel est représenté un serpent dressé sur sa queue qui est dénommé (O. :). L'inscription en deux colonnes sur le battant se lit :

1)

2) (S. I)

[1] Davis, Maspero and Daressy, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Toutankhamanou*, p. 81; Cf. : C. W. Goodwin, *On the enigmatic writing on the coffin of Seti I*, *Ä. Z.*, 1873 (XI), pp. 138-144; P. le Page Renouf, *The royal tombs of Bibân-el-Molûk and «Enigmatic Writing»*, *Ä. Z.*, 1874 (XII), pp. 101-105; E. Lefébure, *Œuvres Diverses* (*Bibliothèque Égyptologique I*), Vol. I, pp. 87-91.

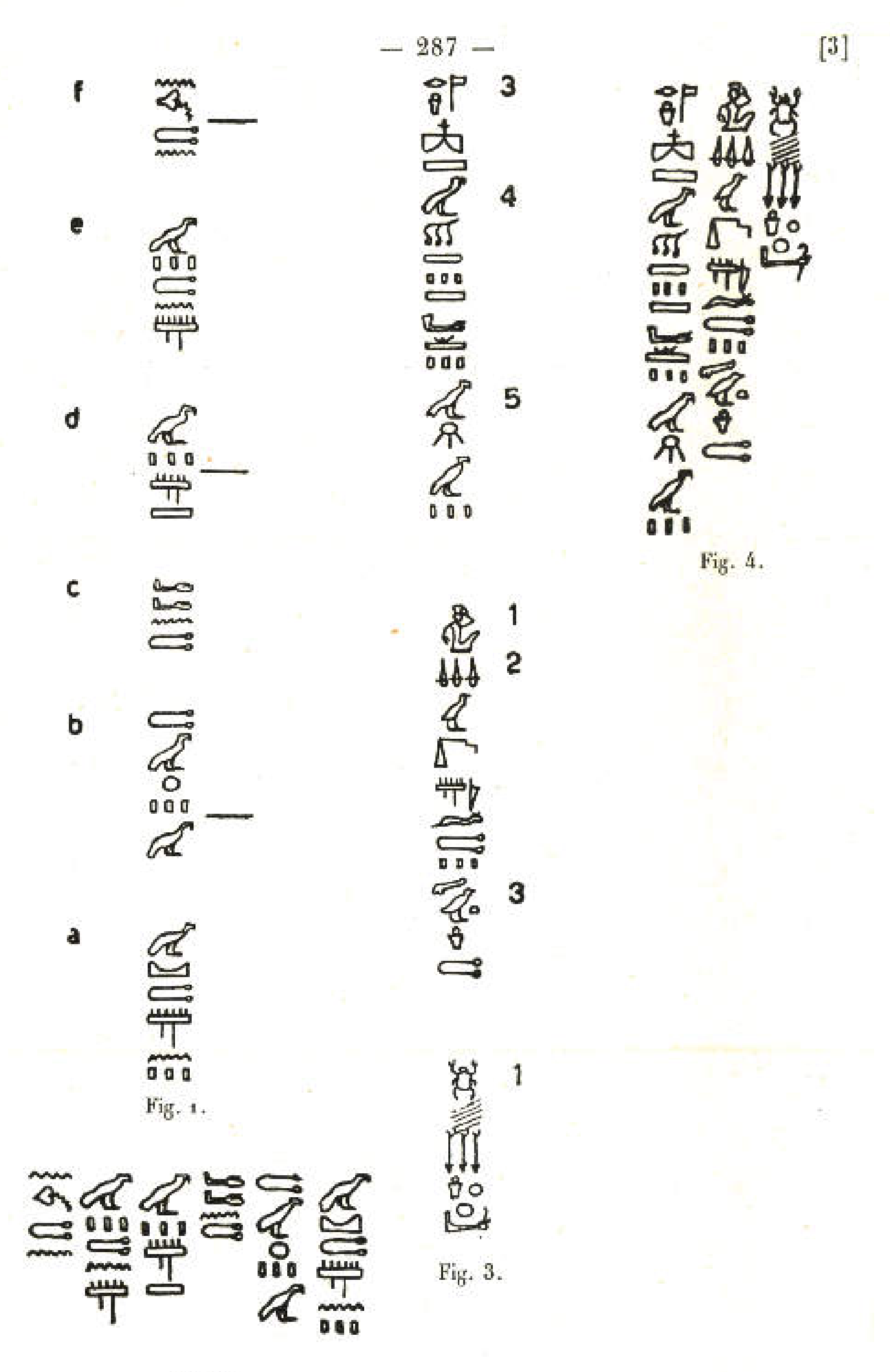


Fig. 1 à 4.

V^E DIVISION DU LIVRE DES PORTES

Premier Registre

La Division est formée de trois registres qui contiennent des représentations et des textes qui les expliquent. Au registre supérieur sont représentés trois groupes de personnages : 12 dieux tiennent des bâtons fourchus. Ce sont les (R. III ; dans S. I. —) ; 12 autres portent un serpent géant du corps duquel surgissent des têtes humaines. Ils sont dénommés (S. I).

Enfin, le troisième groupe, (R. III ; dans S. I) portent une double corde avec 12 étoiles placées au-dessus d'elle. Cette corde va au cou d'un personnage momiforme debout qui est dénommé dans S.I, Mer. et R. III pour (?).

Le texte qui se rapporte au premier groupe et qui est reproduit sur la page voisine présente les variantes suivantes :

(1) O.
(2) R. III *ndrw-tn*
(3) S. II *id.* ; O. ; S. I
(4) R. III
(5) O. *id.* ; S. I
(6) S. I ; S. II
(7) S. II ; S. I ; O.
(8) O. et S. II *id.* ; S. I *sic*
(9) R. III
(10) S. II

TEXTE DU PREMIER GROUPE

R. III. (1) S. I. (2) R. III. (3) S. I. (4) R. III. (5) (6) (7) (8) S. I. (9) R. III. S. I. R. III. S. I. R. III. S. I. R. III. R. III. (10)

TEXTE DU DEUXIÈME GROUPE

(1) O. *id.*; S. I … pour … (?)
Voir : *Le livre des Quererts*. Index

(2) S. II …; O. …

(3) O. …; R. III … …

(4) R. III *id.*; O. …

(5) R. III …; S. I *ʿmw n ṯn ʿm·n·ṯn wnm·ṯn pr n ṯn*

(6) S. II …; O. …

(7) O. *id.*; S. I …

(8) O. …

(9) Pour …; R. III …; S. II …

(10) R. III *id.*; O. …

TEXTE DU TROISIÈME GROUPE

(1) R. III …

(2) R. III *id.*; Mer. …

(3) La copie de Lefébure est fautive; O. …

(4) S. I …; S. II …; R. III …

(5) Mer. …; R. III …; S. II …

(6) Mer. *id.*; S. I (partie restaurée par Lefébure) …

(7) S. I (partie restaurée) et Mer. *id.*

(8) S. I …; de même II. et Mer.

(9) Mer. …; R. III et R. VI : *ìw wdn·sn*

(10) Mer. …; R. VI …

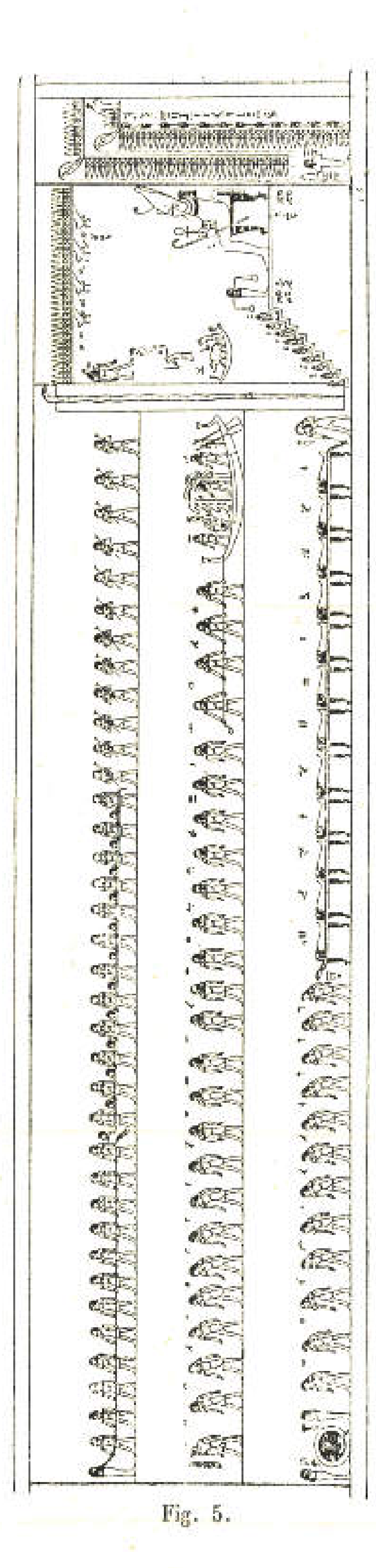


Fig. 5.

Deuxième Registre

Au deuxième registre sont représentés trois groupes de personnages. La barque solaire est halée par quatre dieux. Dans la barque le dieu criocéphale, se tient debout dans un naos enveloppé par le serpent Mehen. Devant le naos est le dieu, à l'arrière (S. I, R. III), (dans O.). Le naos manque dans R. III. Devant la barque une théorie de 12 dieux les mains cachées sous un court manteau (S. I, S. II, Mer. et R. III). Ce groupe est précédé de 8 autres dieux : . Dans O. le roi est représenté deux fois : dans la barque, agenouillé devant le naos, et à la tête de la dernière procession, à la fin du registre (fig. 5). Dans S. I, la fin de ce registre contient des personnages et le texte du registre d'en bas.

TEXTES DES HALEURS

S. I. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

(1) S. II ; R. III

(2) O., R. III

(3) S. II

(4) R. III O. *ḏsr r ṯn sṯ3w nḏd·wi r...*

(5) O.

TEXTE DU DEUXIÈME GROUPE

S. I. (1) R. III. (2) *sic* S. I. (3) S. II. (4) (5) S. I. (6) O. S. I. O. (7) S. I. S. II. (8) S. I. O. (9) S. I. (10) (11) (12) (13)

(1) R. III
(2) O. *id.*; S. I [ ];
S. II
(3) R. III
(4) R. III *id.*; S. I
(5) S. I ; R. III
(6) S. I — *inkw n tn št3w-tn tn m*; R. III *ink-n n tn št3w-tn tn m*
(7) S. I
(8) S. I

(9) S. I ; R. III
(10) R. III
(11) S. II
(12) R. III *id.*; S. II
(13) R. III

TEXTE DU TROISIÈME GROUPE

S. I. (1) *sic* (2) (3) (4) R. III. S. I. (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) *sic* (10)

(1) R. III
(2) R. III *id.*; S. II
(3) S. II et R. III
(4) R. III ; dans S. I après *sip-n* espace vide.
(5) R. III *id.*; O. ; Passage détruit dans S. II.
(6) R. III *id.*
(7) O.
(8) Dans R. III :
(9) R. III *ihii-tn*
(10) Dans S. I suit le début du texte du registre inférieur.

Troisième Registre

Le dieu appuyé sur un bâton s'adresse à 12 momies couchées sur le corps d'un énorme serpent qui est allongé sur 12 lits. Ce sont . Le serpent est dénommé . Un groupe de 12 dieux se dirige vers un puits dans lequel est un cobra entre deux dieux momiformes [1] et (H.). Dans S. I le dernier groupe de 12 dieux est disposé en deux registres. Devant le puits il n'y a qu'un seul dieu momiforme.

Le texte du premier groupe, reproduit sur la page voisine, comporte les variantes suivantes :

(1) S. I et R. III

(2) R. III

(3) O.

(4) O.

(5) S. II *sꜣḫw n ḳrsw·ṯn*

(6) R. VI *id.*; R. III *dmḏw·ṯn iwf·ṯn*

(7) R. VI *id.*; S. II ; R. III

(8) S. I ; S. II ; R. III

(9) R. III

(10) S. I ; O.

(11) R. III *id.*; S. II

(12) S. I ; S. II

(13) O. *šsp·n·ṯn*; R. III *šsp·n·sn n ṯn*

(14) S. II *id.*; S. I *nb*

(15) S. I ; O.

(16) S. I ; R. III

(17) S. I

(18) S. I détruit; S. II (19) S. I *ỉp·sn*

(20) S. I *id.*; O. (21) S. I *id.*; O.

[1] R. VI :

TEXTE DU PREMIER GROUPE

TEXTE DU DEUXIÈME GROUPE

R. III. (1)

S. I. (2)

R. III. (3)

S. I.

R. III.

(4)

(5)

S. I.

(6)

(7)

R. III. (8)

S. I. (9)

(10)

(11) sic

sic

(1) S. I *wn-sn*

(2) S. I partie restaurée; O. ; R. III

(3) S. I

(4) S. II

(5) S. I

(6) R. III

(7) Pour : *ḥ3st tn n*

(8) S. I

(9) R. III

(10) R. III

(11) R. III

Dans la tombe de Horemheb, à gauche du tableau d'Osiris, sur le mur N. derrière le sarcophage, se trouve la fin de la cinquième Division. Les décorateurs de la tombe ont placé cette Division à l'envers : ainsi la barque solaire dont l'esquisse se trouve sur le mur E., à droite, est halée vers Osiris au lieu de l'être dans le sens contraire, comme dans la tombe de Ramsès VI et dans l'Osiréion. Par conséquent au lieu de sortir du pylône et se diriger vers la sixième Division, la barque retourne en arrière. Au registre d'en haut on voit Aken et deux personnages qui tiennent la corde vers la fin de l'inscription qui accompagne le dernier groupe du premier registre ;

Au deuxième registre deux dieux se dirigent vers la gauche accompagnés de la fin d'une inscription :

Enfin, au troisième registre est représenté le puits avec le cobra entre deux figures momiformes et .

Les inscriptions des deux premiers registres sont embrouillées car ils ont été copiées de l'original en commençant par la dernière colonne. Ces deux textes se présentent ainsi :

REGISTRE D'EN HAUT

1 2 3 *ab* 4 5 *ab* 6 7 *ab* 8

Lire : 7 *b* — 8 — 5 *b* — 6 — 7 *a* — 3 *b* — 4 — 5 *a* — 2 — 3 *a* — 1.

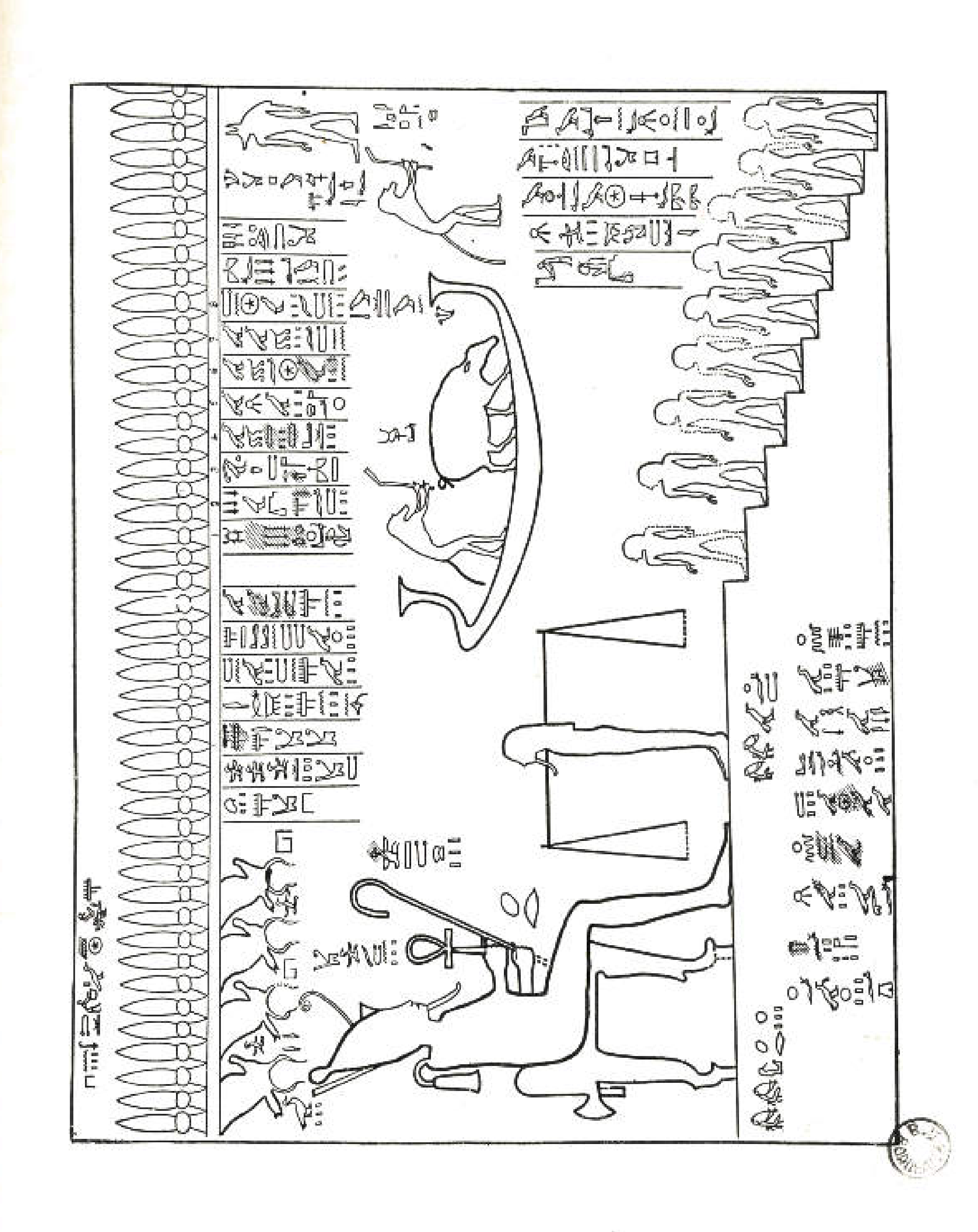
2e REGISTRE

1 2 3 4 *ab* 5 6 7*ab* 8*ab*

Le texte se lit : 8 *b* — 7 *b* — 8 *a* — 6 — 7*a* — 5 — 4 *b* — 3 — 4 *a* — 2 — 1.

A. Piankoff
(*à suivre*)





RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE EASTERN DELTA

(DEC. 1950 — MAY 1955)

BY

SHEHATA ADAM

I. — A BRIEF ACCOUNT

During the period in which I was in charge of the Eastern Delta Zone (October 1950-1954) many important discoveries were made in that area. Some of these discoveries were accidental while others were the result of scientific soundings and excavations. The sites at which I was able to dig extend from Tell El-Yahudieh in the south to Qantir in the north [1]. In the following I give a short account of these discoveries which will be subsequently studied in detail in a series of articles.

1. Mit Yaʿish.

At Mit Ya'ish [2], very near Tell El-Moqdam, I started my first digging

[1] The discoveries took place at Mit Yaʿish, Athribis, Arab El-Eliqat, Tell El-Yahudieh, Esbet Rushdi, Qantir and two other new sites, El-Mineiar and Sefeta (See Pl. I).

[2] In 1949 the Department gave permission to a certain company to take earth from the tell under the supervision of the Inspectorate at Zagazig. This was done during the time when my colleague Nagib Farag was in charge of the Inspectorate. Expert labourers were appointed by him to watch the digging, and some antiquities were found. In addition to two bronze tablets, a large number of Graeco-Roman bronze coins were found. I estimate the number of these coins to be not less than five thousand pieces. These are still preserved in the Zagazig magazine. Here I attract the attention of Dr. Zaki Iskander, the chief of the laboratory in our Department, to the needed chemical treatment

in a small area which one of the landlords of the neighbouring fields had occupied. This excavation lasted for ten days (25th December 1950-5th January 1951) and resulted in the discovery of Greek period mud brick buildings, water jars, a bronze mirror, a bronze statuette of Harpokrates and a small limestone statuette of a hippopotamus (Pl. II, *a*).

In February and March 1952 I worked again on this site where I excavated a larger area. Taking the opportunity to supervise a contractor who was issued permission by the Department to take earth from the tell I worked over a large part of the mound which covers about 7 *feddans*. I came upon mud brick houses which proved to be of Ptolemaic times. A great amount of pottery was found. Vases, bowls, plates, dishes, saucers, flasks, amphora, jar bases, amphora handles and lamps were found (Pls. III, IV, V). Bronze objects such as plates, ladles, a Hathor sistrum, a statuette of a cow and coins were discovered. A limestone tablet and part of a sculptured column were found too (Pl. II, *b*). Carnelian, felspar and red jasper beads and faience amulets including an *wḏ3t*-eye, Taurt, Bes, Anubis and Thot were also found (Pl. V, *b*). A green jasper inscribed scarab was found. Pottery urns, child pot burials and two burnt brick tombs with a vaulted roof were also unearthed. These burials date to Roman times. They were found within a portion of the town which was uninhabited at the time of burial.

There is no doubt that in Ptolemaic times there was here a settlement. From the study of some of the pottery along with the amulets and the scarab it seems to me that the place was occupied before Greek times [1], at least about the time of the 26th Dynasty. The hippopotamus may have been the main deity adored at Mit Ya'ish.

In 1953 the Department at my repeated request to be permitted to carry on excavations here entrusted to my colleague Shafik Farid with my assistance the continuation of the excavations I had previously begun [2].

of these coins and Dr. El-Khashab, the Egyptian expert on coins in the Cairo Museum, to the study of such a large collection.

[1] See also Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, IV, 39.

[2] The area covered with Roman burials was once more excavated at my request, as I had not cleared it the first time to the proper depth for lack of money.

This renewed work took place in December 1953-January 1954. In a separate article I shall publish only the results of the digging I carried out alone, the brief account of which I have given above.

2. Athribis.

In Athribis my colleague Rashid Nucir, then Chief Inspector of Lower Egypt, and I started digging around the sarcophagus of Queen Takhuti which was discovered in about May 1950 [1]. This work lasted for a month (1st-28th February 1951). We were able to unearth the tomb of the Queen which was built of mud bricks (Pl. VI). It is a rectangular chamber with thick walls. The east wall was found in a good state of preservation while the other walls were all broken up. Another thick wall was discovered east of the tomb at a distance of only 40 cm. (Pl. VI, *c*). The tomb had a large niche in the south-east corner which may have been for the four canopic jars and may be other funerary furniture none of which unfortunately was found. Pieces of *Wšbty* statues were found east and south of the sarcophagus, but one or two were found outside the tomb in the debris (Pl. VII, *a*). Over part of the south wall of the tomb the remains of a Greek bath stretched. The drain of another bath was found also passing over this wall and continuing over the lid of the sarcophagus to a considerable distance north of the tomb. To the fact that this drain (Pl. VII, *b*) passed over the lid with a distance of only 10 cm. between them is probably due the survival of the sarcophagus (Pl. VII, *c*) which was found intact with the mummy and the treasure of the Queen inside [2]. Stamped jar-handles, terra cotta fragments and

[1] At that time my colleague Rashid Nucir was in charge of the chief Inspectorate of Lower Egypt and my colleague Nagib Farag was Inspector at Zagazig. The discovery of the sarcophagus was due to accident when a peasant was ploughing a neighbouring field and tresspassed upon the proscribed antiquities area. The discovery was received with great acclamation, for it had been long since so thrilling a discovery had occured.

[2] The treasure of the Queen, all found inside the sarcophagus with the mummy, is now exhibited in the Cairo Museum. The sarcophagus was also transported later, in May 1952, to the Museum. The task of transporting it was directed by Farid El Shaburi, then architect of Lower Egypt (see Pl. XI).

bronze coins were found in the debris (Pls. VIII, *a* et IX *a*, *b*). Two large limestone blocks inscribed with the cartouches of Psamtik II, Queen Ta-khuti's husband, were found a little south of the tomb (Pl. VIII, *b*). The names had been mutilated with a chisel [1]. This may have been done by Amasis. The inscription was painted blue, yellow and red. The colours remained only for one day and then vanished from exposure to the sun-light. The tomb of Psamtik II which has not yet been discovered may possibly be at Athribis also not far from the tomb of his Queen, probably south of it [2]. The two blocks would seem to belong to a temple possibly built here by Psamtik II [3] for the god Osir-Khentikhtai of Athribis, whose name we find also in the vertical line of inscription on the top of the lid of the sarcophagus [4], with the title « Lord of Athribis ».

In June 1952 I made soundings in the fields to the north-east of the tomb but was not able to dig near the tomb itself. Remains of Greek period houses were unearthed. One building was completely cleared It resembles the building discovered by Petrie at Naucratis [5] in that none of the rooms possessed doors (Pl. X). The building contains also grain silos in the thickness of the walls.

3. Arab El-Eliqat.

At Arab El-Eliqat, east of Tell El-Yahudieh (Pl. I), in January 1951 I made soundings in order to determine how far into the desert the Jewish rock tombs south and north of the village extended. The soundings

[1] The sign ‡ is the only sign preserved in the cartouche, but it is not difficult to trace the mutilated sign ✦ and ⊙ of the name of Psamtik II.

[2] This is only a hypothesis, for one should expect to find the royal burial at Sais. The sarcophagus found at Damanhur and thought to be that of Psamtik II is doubtful (Cf. H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Egypte*, IV, 97, n. 2).

[3] In the debris we found also a bit of limestone engraved with a large star in blue. This may have belonged to the ceiling of the temple.

[4] The name of the Queen on the lid of the sarcophagus reads [cartouche] while on the heart scarab of the Queen it reads [cartouche] (cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 1).

[5] Petrie, *Naucratis* (*Egypt Exploration Fund*), I, 24.

were thus limited to Griffith's «Southern» and «Middle» Cemeteries [1]. A tomb in the «Southern Cemetery» was found intact. This was cleared and two skeletons were found in the central chamber. The antiquity area was delimited and it was possible afterwards for the Department to take steps to appropriate the area occupied by the ancient cemeteries.

4. Tell El-Yahudieh.

At Tell El-Yahudieh I dug in March 1951 and April 1952. Excavations were made in the western part of the « Great Tell » [2]. Some graves of Middle Kingdom and Hyksos times were unearthed. The well-known black incised ware was found together with a black incised pottery fish, an alabaster kohl pot, a clay loom weight, a *wḏ3t*-eye and three steatite scarabs. A very thick mud-brick wall was unearthed in the northwest corner of the tell. A granite fragment of a statuette inscribed with the figure of Bast and an incomplete hieroglyphic inscription which refers to « Two Walls » were found. These « Two Walls » are undoubtedly the two walls believed to have been built on the sand banks east of the « Great Tell ». I concluded from these excavations that it is not improbable that there was at Tell El-Yahudieh a temple for the goddess Bast and that the town was undoubtedly the Λεοντοπόλις τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου, « Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan nome », mentioned by Flavius Josephus as the city in which the Jewish priest Onias established his temple in the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor [3].

5. Esbet Rushdi.

At Esbet Rushdi El-Saghira, in the Khata'na-Tell Ed-Dab'a area (Pl. I), a granite statue which was found in December 1950 by a land-owner led to a series of periodical diggings which lasted till May 1955. The result of the excavations of this site proved to be of importance both to archaeology and architecture. In addition to various inscribed and

[1] See Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell El Yahûdiyeh* (*Egypt Exploration Fund*), p. 52 *f.*

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[3] Cf. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (*Egypt Exploration Fund*), p. 18; and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 147*.

uninscribed statues and statuettes all assigned to the Middle Kingdom, a temple built by Amenemhat I, founder of the XIIth Dynasty, was unearthed. This temple consists of the essential architectural elements of a standard temple, namely the court, the hypostyle hall and the sanctuary. It is considered by me to be the best example of a Middle Kingdom standard-type temple as yet found [1]. The well-known temple of Madi in the Fayum is another example. Houses of common people as well as a house which may have been that of a wealthy person or high official or even a royal palace of one of the XIIth Dynasty kings were unearthed. The temple appeared to have been used in later as a private bath. This deduction is due to a drain added later to the structure of the temple. Middle Kingdom pottery and three faience scarabs of the same period were found in the debris.

6. QANTIR.

At Qantir, west of Es-Sama'na Canal, a large hard limestone base of a seated colossus of Ramesses II was found in January 1953. The colossus must have been not less than 10 ms. high. In 1954 my digging around the base ended in the discovery of two other pieces of the same statue. A mud-brick wall, two other short walls built of limestone pieces and a pavement of mud bricks were unearthed. The uppermost course of the pavement consisted of bricks one leaning upon the side of the other so that the surface was zigzagged. This may have been intended for the superimposition of tiles.

The existence of a temple by Ramesses II in this area is not improbable and royal palaces of Ramesside times may have also extended to this area as well [2].

7. EL-MINEIAR.

At El-Mineiar (Pl. I) which is a village situated on the Ismalia Canal, about 35 kilometres north of Cairo, limestone blocks inscribed with the

[1] I use the expression «standard type» after Baldwin Smith: *Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression*, p. 152.

[2] For the existence of palaces at Qantir, cf. M. HAMZA, *Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities, Ann. Serv.*, XXX, 64 ff.

cartouches of Seti I, Ramesses II and Merenptah were found. These were fragments of a door lintel and a door jamb. I was able to pick up from one of the streets of the village another block inscribed with stars is bas-relief. As this site had no archaeological features it had not previously attracted the attention of archaeologists. In my opinion these blocks which had been accidentally found in a field west of the village and which were displaced by the inhabitants were found by them in *situ*. Perhaps there was a temple built by Seti I and completed by Ramesses II and Merenptah at this new site. There probably was a settlement of some sort also at the spot.

8. SEFETA.

At another village called Sefeta, which is situated about five kilometres south-west of Bubastis (Zagazig) [Pl. I], a limestone stela was found in June 1954, in a high mound just west of the village. Neither this place nor the mound had ever been known to have any archaeological importance. The stela is rounded on the top. It bears a representation of King Nefer-Ka-Re offering a field, [hieroglyph], to the goddess Bastet who is standing holding in her hand the papyrus sceptre. This stela bears six horizontal lines of hieroglyphs badly weathered. The prenomen of the king is [cartouche], but the nomen is only partially visible, but sufficient is preserved to make certain that it is Shabaka of the 25th Dynasty [1]. It seems very probable that the stela may have been transported from Bubastis to Sefeta. However, at Sefeta, othere must have been an ancient town, for I recognized in the mound ancient brick buildings and as a result I took steps which ended in the appropriation of this little mound by our Department.

This is in brief an account of the recent discoveries in the Eastern Delta which took place while I was Inspector at Zagazig. Detailed reports which are following this account are entitled : 1. *New Excavations at Tell El-Yahudieh.* 2. *A Jewish Rock Tomb at Arab El-Eliqat.* 3. *A New*

[1] The [hieroglyph] is quite visible and the other signs of Shabaka's nomen are traceable. See GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Egypte*, IV, 12-15.

Antiquity Site at El-Mineiar. 4. *A Large Colossus of King Ramesses II at Qantir*. I hope in the near future also to publish studies of some aspects of the discovery of Queen Takhuti's tomb and of the Ptolemaic settlement at Mit Ya'ish as well as a more detailed account of the stela of Neferkare found at Sefeta.

Since a part of my job was administrative I was able during the four years I worked at Zagazig not only to enforce the regulations of guardianship but to supervise all the digging and carry on inspection of the area. This gave me opportunity to fix the number and location of the different ancient sites in this region. Dr. Zaki Saad, Director of the Inspectorates Office, knowing this, on his visit to Zagazig, asked me to make a map of the ancient sites in the Eastern Delta. Being encouraged also by Mr. Bothmer of the Boston Museum, who heard of this, I prepared the map. This will contain about 130 antiquity sites, all now under the protection of our inspectorate at Zagazig. The map will be printed with an article entitled « *A List of the Antiquity Sites in the Eastern Delta* ».

It is fitting to mention here that the drawing of the pottery and scarabs as well as the plans needed were done by M. A. Ali. The relief on the blocks of El-Mineiar and the fragments found at Esbet Rushdi were drawn by Abd-el-Latif Nawar.

Dr. Hughes of the Oriental Institute was so kind as to read my manuscripts and to offer many suggestions and devote time for any discussion.

To all I would like to express my deep thanks.

II. — NEW EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-YAHUDIEH

Tell El-Yahudieh is situated about 31 kilometres north of Cairo and two kilometres south of the town of Shebin El-Qanater in Qalubieh Province (Pl. XII). The mound now occupies an area of about 80 *feddans* all of which belong to the Department of Antiquities. It is cut in many places by cultivated areas, roads and two railway lines [1]. The so-called

[1] The Egyptian State Railway and the Delta Railway.

« Great Tell » [1] on the west occupies the greater portion of the mound and is bounded on the east by the two well-known sand banks and a ditch. The eastern of the two banks is the higher and more rocky. The ground adjacent to it contains sand, gravel and earth in which camel thorns and halfa grass grow abundantly. The area contains numerous pits which are filled with infiltration water in autumn and winter (Pls. XIII-XV).

In this low-lying area where most of the previous excavations have been made I also dug in March 1951 and April 1952. There is nothing to be seen on the surface now remaining from earlier excavations except a few fragmentary blocks. These are the red granite column of the Middle Kingdom usurped by Merenptah [2], a red granite column base bearing the name of Ramesses III [3], some alabaster blocks from the palace of Ramesses III [4] and a few uninscribed granite blocks.

I began digging in the extreme west of the great mound where I had noted that the level was slightly higher than anywhere else. It was however necessary to avoid the area occupied by the Moslem cemetery of the neighbouring village of Kafr El-Shobak.

A little beneath the surface I came upon graves which were in a very bad state of preservation. Nearly all of them were so deteriorated that only three or four were recognizable and one could not discern the shape and construction of even these. They had been decomposed by the wetness of the soil and the ground salts which, raised by infiltration water to a level higher than in ancient times, now cover the entire area. As a result there was nothing left of the vast majority of the burials except black ashes mixed with earth and potsherds. Undoubtedly many of them had also suffered much from the *sebbakhin* who constantly cut into the mound. I found no skeletal material at all except for two teeth and a patella, each piece in a separate grave.

The pottery in these graves was of the celebrated black incised ware (Pl. XVII) which is believed to have been imported into Egypt and then

[1] Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell El Yahûdiyeh* (*Egypt Exploration Fund*), p. 38.
[2] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 8 and Pls. II, XVI and XVI A.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8 and Pl. XXVIII.
[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI A.

imitated locally. Several vases of this ware were found. Of the plain red Egyptian pottery I found only a flask and a bowl (Pls. XVIII and XX Top, 3 and 8).

In the debris I found a black pottery fish beautifully incised (Pls. XIX *a*, and XX Top, 9). Petrie had found many fragments of these pottery fish [1]. I also found a red flask with black stripes (Pls. XVIII and XX, Top 5), a yellowish alabaster kohl pot, a red clay loom weight (Pl. XX, 7) a green faience *wḏꜣt*-eye with black-painted outlines (Pl. XX bottom, 1) and some flint flakes.

Our dig turned up but three scarabs. One is of pale yellow steatite deeply incised at the base and inscribed with (a variant of *ḫpr-kꜣ Rʿ*, the prenomen of Senusert I) surrounded by a symmetrical motif (Pl. XX bottom, 2). Another, apparently Hyksos, is also of yellow steatite deeply incised at the base and inscribed with a sun-disk and a lion *passant* on a *nb*-sign (Pl. XX bottom, 3). The third is again of pale yellow steatite incised at the base and inscribed with the symbols of «life» and «good», then followed by what may read *Nbwy-ḫpr-nfrwy*, all within a spiral border. The last is undoubtedly of the Hyksos period.

To judge from the scarabs and pottery the majority of the graves must date to the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos period. It is apparently agreed that the black incised ware was imported into Egypt from the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty. Naville found examples of black and red types at Khata'na in the context of Middle Kingdom monuments [2]. I also found the two kinds of pottery at Tell El-Dab'a within the walls of a temple of the XIIth Dynasty.

The alabaster kohl pot and the sacred eye can be attributed to the New Kingdom. The latter resembles types from the XIXth Dynasty.

In a piece of ground of a higher level in the north-west corner of the Tell I unearthed a large and very thick wall of sun-dried mud brick (Pl. XVI, *b*). It had been cut down from both sides by the village *sebbakhîn* so that the original size could not be conclusively determined. However

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 14 and Pl. VIII A.

[2] Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (*Egypt Exploration Fund*), p. 9, and Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 10 *f.* and Pls. VIII and VIII A.

it stretches north-east to south-west for a distance of 40 metres and I estimate that its original breadth undoubtedly exceeded three metres.

In the debris above the wall I found an ear-ring of corroded bronze originally overlayed with gold. It is difficult to determine to what period and to what monument this wall may have belonged. It seemed to me, however, that the graves which were found very near it probably run under it and also extend westward under the still high mound now occupied by the Moslem cemetery.

In about the centre of this area where the monuments of the New Kingdom once stood and a little to the west of the column bearing the name of Merenptah, I found part of a grey granite block statuette 16 cm. high, 8,4 cm. wide and 3,5 cm. thick. The fragment represents the back and part of one side of the cubic figure. There are hieroglyphic inscriptions on the back and the preserved left side. On the side the lion-headed goddess Bast is depicted standing with the sun disk on her head, a sceptre in her right hand and the sign of life in the left. A line of hieroglyphs runs beneath her and in front of her the remains of a few signs of another inscription are distinguishable (Pl. XIX).

This statuette probably derives from the New Kingdom or slightly later. Although it was found quite isolated it would seem to have belonged to a temple of Bast at Tell El-Yahudieh. The inscription on the back begins : " O ye who come by the «Two Walls !»". The «Two Walls» are undoubtedly those believed to have been built upon the two famous sand banks still to be seen on the east side of the tell (Pl. XIII, *a*).

We know from Josephus that the Jewish high priest Onias, after the persecution of the Jews in Jerusalem, fled to Egypt and asked the protection of Ptolemy VI Philometor. We know also that Onias chose for the site of his temple a town called Λεοντοπόλις τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου, «Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan Nome», where there was a ruined temple of the goddess Bast [1].

It has been generally accepted that the Leontopolis at which Onias and his people settled was Tell El-Yahudieh. The excavations carried out by E. Brugsch, Naville, Griffith and Petrie point to this conclusion.

[1] Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Brugsch found there two statues of Bast [1]. Naville discovered a Jewish cemetery on the edge of the desert a little east of Tell El-Yahudieh [2]. Griffith found remains of Jewish sacrifices in the Tell [3] and Petrie unearthed the ruins of the temple of Onias [4]. Gardiner also agrees that Tell El-Yahudieh is indeed «Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan Nome» [5].

Thus it is not improbably that our statuette belonged to a temple of the lion-headed Bast at Tell El-Yahudieh from which the town derived its name in Ptolemaic times. With the accumulation of evidence there should no longer be any doubt that the town is thus to be identified.

III. — A JEWISH ROCK TOMB AT ARAB EL-ELIQAT

At the extreme edge of the desert, east of Tell El-Yahudieh very near a little village called Arab El-Eliqat El-Bahrieh (Pl. XXI), Naville discovered in 1878 the necropolis of the Jews who resided at Tell El-Yahudieh in Ptolemaic and Roman times [6]. Griffith who worked on the same site with Naville describes several of the tombs. He devided the necropolis into three separate cemeteries; the Southern Cemetery to the south of the above-mentioned village (Pl. XXII, *a*); the Middle Cemetery a little to the north of the village (Pl. XXII, *b*); and the Northern Cemetery situated further north still between Arab es-Sawaleh and the cultivated land [7].

Generally speaking these tombs are cut in the rock. Both Naville and Griffith give a precise description of them [8]. From this description we learn that there is no construction above ground. Each tomb consists of an entrance followed by a staircase leading down to a small door which gives access to a central chamber. In the sides of the chamber are horizontal niches the size of a human body in double rows superimposed.

[1] E. Brugsch, *On et Onion, Rec. de Travaux,* VIII, 6.

[2] Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 13 *ff.*

[3] Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[4] Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *ff.*

[5] *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 147*.

[6] Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias (Egypt Exploration Fund)*, p. 13 *ff.*; see also Pls. III and IV.

[7] Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell El Yahûdiyeh*, p. 52 and 53.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The plan given by Griffith is that of a typical tomb of the Middle Cemetery [1].

In December 1950 I was informed by our ghaffir that a certain basalt quarrier had begun building a modern house in the prescribed area south-east of the village of Arab El-Eliqat. As soon as possible I went to the place and stopped the building of the house and now confronted with the desire of various inhabitants to build new houses in the vast area around the village. Inasmuch as the ancient cemeteries to the south and north had not previously been surveyed and limited by the Department of Antiquities and the ground had never been owned by it, I decided to make soundings in order to determine how far into the desert each cemetery extended.

These soundings were limited to Griffith's Southern and Middle Cemeteries, but they made it possible to ascertain exactly how far these two cemeteries extended. It was then possible for the Department of Antiquities to secure the sites as antiquities preserves, whereas the land had previously been in the domain of Egyptian State Railways and the Department of Mines.

I was able to dig in January 1951 for about 15 days only on the east, north and south sides of the village. The area to the east proved to consist of very hard basalt in which no tombs had been dug. To the north there was also a narrow expanse of basalt between the houses of the village and the Middle Cemetery. In the south the cemetery begins at the edge of the village and occupies but a small area. This Southern Cemetery is bounded on the south by the area of decomposed yellowish rock [2] and on the east by another area of basalt.

The tombs in the Southern Cemetery are now in a very bad state of preservation and they have been plundered nearly without exception. This is due both to the softness of the stone and the plundering by modern sand diggers, who always need sand for cotton cultivation.

Fortunately I was able to find in the Southern Cemetery an intact tomb. The photographs reproduced on Pls. XXIII and XXIV I believe to be more expressive in this instance than a plan.

[1] Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell El Yahûdiyeh*, Pl. XVI. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 2.

This tomb was as usual cut in the rock. It has no superstructure above ground. The entrance faces the north, then there is one step down to a small doorway which was found closed by a plain slab of limestone. The staircase as may be seen in the photograph (Pl. XXIII, *a*) is of hard cement, and it was roofed by another slab of limestone which was found broken to pieces. In the centre of the tomb there is a chamber on the sides of which there are niches cut in the rock the size of a human body in double rows one above the other except on the right hand side where there is only one niche on an upper level (Pl. XXIII, *a* left side, Pl. XXIII, *b* right side). In the niches nothing was found but sand which had drifted in.

On the floor of the chamber were the remains of two skeletons with head to the south. They are those of a man or woman and a child (Pl. XXIV).

It is curious that Griffith found a couple of headless skeletons in the Middle Cemetery [1], but in this case the larger of the two skeletons had a skull. It is noteworthy in this connection that this skull to my astonishment was stolen by the inhabitants of the village a little after the discovery the moment I turned my back to take the train home. The ghaffir was not attentive at the moment and it never came to my mind that a mere skull would be so highly desirable to any of the villagers. Nothing else was found in the tomb except these two skeletons and no other antiquities were found in soundings except those mentioned above.

IV. — A NEW ANTIQUITY SITE AT EL-MINEIAR

On the western border of the Ismalia Canal, about 35 kilometres north of Cairo (Pl. XXV), is situated a village called El-Mineiar. In July 1953 the Department of Antiquities received a telegram sent by an individual of this village by the name of Amin Lotfi announcing the discovery of certain inscribed blocks within the vicinity of the village. My colleague Rashid Nucir, then Chief Inspector of Lower Egypt, and I went to the village and met the man as well as the mayor of the village who together led us to the place to which the blocks had been removed and then showed us where they had been found.

[1] Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell El-Yahûdieyh*, p. 52.

Before I give an account of these blocks it is fitting to note that the man who sent the telegram is a retired craftsman. Being a person of some accomplishment he was appreciative enough of the situation to send the telegram and to keep watch over the stones which had been accidently discovered. When we went to the village we found some of the blocks in his personal custody in a little cottage of his own near the land where they were originally found. Other blocks had been carried away hastely by some of the inhabitants to their houses, perhaps with the intention of using them for building purposes. These I gathered up. On the same occasion other uninscribed limestone blocks were found in a little narrow street of the village. A ceiling block engraved with stars was also picked up. This proved to have been found somewhat earlier and was lying upside down in front of one of the houses. The inscribed blocks mentioned below were all found on the 8th July 1953, the day on which Amin Lotfi kindly sent his telegram revealing the discovery. To this aged artisan I wish to express my thanks.

The blocks are all fragments of limestone, three of which formed originally one block. The first fragment is a slab 170 cm. high, 60 cm. wide and 15 cm. thick. It is inscribed with the cartouches of Seti I, which face left. Beneath them are *nbw*-sign and they are surmounted by solar disks with flanking feathers (Pl. XXVI, *a*). This block was once a door jamb.

The second block is a fragment 75 cm. high, 120 cm. long and 15 cm. thick. The third one is 75 cm. high, 80 cm. long and 15 cm. thick. Both these fragments with a little piece chipped off of them fit together and originally formed one block 75 cm. high, 2 ms. long and 15 cm. thick (Pl. XXVIII). It is a door lintel with a concave cornice, a torus and a flat surface below, on which an inscription is carved in sunk relief.

In the middle of the lintel are the cartouches of Ramesses II back to back flanked on both sides by his Horus-name in a *serekh* and the whole is enclosed in a frame.

On both sides of the Ramesses II motif are the pairs of cartouches of Merenptah. These also face outward from the middle of the lintel.

The fifth block (Pl. XXVI, *b*) is a fragment of a ceiling, also of limestone,

110 cm. long, 27 cm. wide and 20 cm. thick, engraved with stars in high relief.

These fragments, excluding the block engraved with stars, were found about 200 metres west of the village of El-Mineiar. The workmen of Amin Lotfi were digging earth for making mud-bricks to build a salt magazine when they came upon them. When I was led to the spot at which the blocks were found I could only see a pit of earth and sand just under the black soil.

Whether this sand was the natural desert floor or introduced by human agency I could not determine for it was mixed with earth and I had no opportunity to do any digging at the time. The village is situated nearly on the edge of the desert on a sandy floor surrounded by cultivated lands. Nile mud must have naturally accumulated through the centuries on the desert floor in this area and the sand which I saw may have been natural, and not brought intentionally in the building of some monuments.

Nevertheless as is quite obvious these fragments are the remains of an annihilated monument of the XIXth Dynasty. We have a door lintel of 2 ms. long, a door jamb and part of a ceiling bearing large stars. These suggest a temple rather than any other structure.

To judge by the size of the stars on the ceiling fragment as well as by the size of the inscription the doorway must have been of a considerable size. Now, we may ask whether there is any other evidence to indicate that there was a temple erected at the site of El-Mineiar during the New Kingdom.

From the archaeological point of view the site has no features to attract the attention of any investigator. The village stands on a low sandy tract with no trace of any mound in the vicinity. The site was unknown to Egyptologists and had not supplied us with any antiquities before this accidental discovery. The blocks had of course been displaced, as I have mentioned above, by the workmen and others on the day of their discovery and we do not know exactly how these fragments were lying.

When the neighbouring farmers were asked whether they had ever before found other stones in the area, they all stated definitely that they are accustomed to find many limestone chips when digging for earth to level or cultivate their lands around the spot. They used to collect

these chips, as they related to me, and put them aside because they made cultivation difficult. A field full of bits of stones would naturally be unfit for good cultivation. Seeing some of these collected limestone chips in a field nearly, assured me that this statement of the peasants was true.

I observed masses of these chips just north of the spot where our blocks were found indicating that any future investigation of the site ought to begin in that area.

If these blocks were not found *in situ* at El-Mineiar, they must have been transported there from some site nearby. The nearest possible ancient site is the mound of Tell El-Yahudieh which is only 6 kilometres to the south-west of El-Mineiar. At Tell El-Yahudieh there were traces of temples and other monuments of the New Kingdom. Seti I left a stone inscribed with his name which was seen by Brugsch [1]. Ramesses II left many blocks bearing his name and is believed to have built a temple there [2]. Merenptah left his cartouches on a red granite column still lying on the ground [3].

Have the blocks of El-Mineiar any relation to any of these monuments erected at Tell El-Yahudieh or are they parts of a temple built on the site of El-Mineiar? The only reasons for considering the first possibility are the situation of El-Mineiar so near Tell El-Yahudieh and the absence of any mound in the vicinity of El-Mineiar itself.

There are however other more significant facts which weigh against the possibility of the derivation of the blocks from Tell El-Yahudieh and in favour of the idea of the existence of a temple in El-Mineiar in ancient times. First, there are the uninscribed blocks I found in front of a house in the village and which there is no doubt were found in the same locality. Secondly, we have the limestone chips which the cultivators find in abundance near the place where these inscribed blocks were found. Thirdly, the inscriptions on the blocks were mostly intact and in a good state of preservation. An inscription on a transported re-used limestone block would in all likelihood have suffered badly. Fourthly, the second

[1] Brugsch, *On et Onion, Recueil de Travaux*, VIII, 8-9.

[2] Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, IV, 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, 56; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 8 and Pls. II and XVI.

and third fragments which together form one block representing a door-lintel were found together, a fact which plausibly indicates that they had not been touched since they were broken in ancient times. If they had been transported the probability is that they would not have remained side by side and there is no doubt that the breaks are ancient.

Thus I believe that the blocks found west of that village were found *in situ*. Perhaps a temple was erected here by Seti I and completed by Ramesses II and Merenptah.

Excavation is of course the only way to settle the matter but as yet this has not been possible. Owing to excavations at other places as well as administrative duties at Zagazig, I was unfortunately unable while in Lower Egypt to devote any time to excavating at El-Mineiar.

V. — A LARGE COLOSSUS OF KING RAMESSES II AT QANTIR

A little north-west of the village of Qantir, west of Es-Sama'na canal, lies a mound about three *feddans* in area called Tell Abu-Eshaf'i. It was originally a part of the ancient town of Qantir although it is now separated from Qantir village by the above mentioned canal which was dug in 1945 [1].

On the 29th of December 1952 when a farmer was digging illicitly for earth he came upon two toes of a statue of great size. In order to avoid responsibility the farmer informed the police headquarters at Faqûs and together with our ghaffir phoned me at my office at Zagazig. I arrived at the place in less than two hours and was able to unearth the block of stone completely just before sunset that day.

As may be seen in the photographs (Pl. XXVIII), it is of hard white limestone and comprises the base and the toes of a seated colossus of Ramesses II. The base which is slightly rounded on the front, is 80 cm. high, 260 cm. wide and 190 cm. of its length is preserved. The breadth of the foot across the toes is 85 cm.; and the height of the left foot at the break is 39 cm. [2]. The base is inscribed on the front and both sides.

[1] Labib Habachi, *Khatâ'na-Qantîr : Importance, Ann. Serv.*, LIII, 489.

[2] The great toe is 30 cm. high, 22 cm. broad and 50 cm. long. The nail of the great toe is 16 × 15 cm. The nail of the little toe is 7 × 6 cm.

In the middle of the front are the cartouches of Ramesses II back to back flanked on both sides by his Horus-name which continues on the sides thus : [1] ... .

This is the first time, as far as I know, that any part of a colossal statue of Ramesses II or any other king has been found at Qantir. I estimate the full height of the statue to have been not less than 10 ms. It was undoubtedly larger than the seated colossi of Ramesses II in front of the pylon and in the first court of Luxor Temple. It was also larger than the seated colossi of the XVIIIth Dynasty kings in front of the 8th pylon in Karnak [2]. The only colossi in Thebes which surpass the Qantir colossus are the colossus of Ramessus II in the Ramesseum and the Memnon colossi of the mortuary temple of Amenophis III.

The Qantir colossus I believe must have stood at the entrance to a huge temple but at the spot in which the base was found there was no trace of the existence of any monument above ground except for few scattered uninscribed blocks.

In June 1954 while I was working at Esbet Rushdi El-Saghira [3] one kilometre south of Qantir I decided to excavate round about the base in the hope that I might find traces of the temple before which I believe the colossus once stood. Having but very little money and time I was able to dig for only six days and the result was somewhat disappointing.

First I removed the earth immediately around the base and on the sixth day dug trenches in the surrounding area.

Behind the base, a little to the left, were blocks of hard limestone which were originally parts of the colossus. One of the blocks was part of an arm, probably the left since it lay to the left and in such a position as it might have fallen when the colossus was broken.

[1] Approximate sign. — It is not Hathor, but Maât; instead of horns and disk, the goddess bears on her head the feather.

[2] These colossi are of Thutmes II, Amenophis I and Amenophis II (Cf. Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, II, 58; Labib Habachi, *Découvertes de Karnak, Ann. Serv.*, XXXVIII, 83).

[3] In this district there are two villages with the name of Esbet Rushdi. One is situated west of Es-Sama'na canal and is called Esbet Rushdi El-Kebira « the great », while the other lies east of the canal and is called Esbet Rushdi El-Saghira « the small ».

At a distance of two metres south-west of the base (which lies facing north) I found a pavement of mud bricks on a level about 80 cm. higher than the level of the base. This pavement consisted of three courses of bricks, in the two lower of which the bricks were laid flat, while in the uppermost the bricks were leaning on each other so that the surface was zigzagged. This may have been due to the fact that the pavement was covered with tiles.

To the right of the base I traced a mud brick wall for a distance of three metres, but could not follow it further into the cultivated land. The wall runs east-west and is parallel with the back of the base.

A little farther to the east and north of the base many heavy blocks are scattered in the fields. Around the base itself many hard limestone chips were found. In one of the trenches I found remains of two short walls of small limestone blocks forming a right angle.

In the debris I found an eight-leaved faience rosette, a small rectangular faience amulet with two pairs of lines in the form of an X on each face, a clay mould of the sacred eye, a small alabaster jar lid, a piece of a schist palette and a piece of limestone with the relief of a standing person. These objects are now in the magazine of the inspectorate at Zagazig.

In this area there must have been houses or perhaps a palace and the existence of a temple is not improbable. Although no traces of a temple were found the colossus is, in my opinion, reasonable evidence that there once was one built by Ramesses II.

Most of the archaeologists who have written on Qantir believe that Ramesses II must have built a temple of great importance there. To judge by the scattered location of the various discoveries which would indicate the presence of a temple, Ramesses II must have erected more than one temple there to more than one god.

Here is a summary of various fragments mentioned by scholars which indicate the presence of a temple of Ramesses II at Qantir.

Petrie in 1886 saw the base of a column and a basalt architrave both inscribed with the name of Ramesses II [1].

[1] Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, p. 45; M. Hamza, *Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities, Ann. Serv.*, XXX, 33.

Naville saw a great granite base bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II, a basalt base with an inscription of this king and parts of the jambs of a door also inscribed with his cartouche. A door-lintel with the name of the king and the base of a column with inscriptions of Ramesses II used as a step in a modern house were also seen by him. On the basis of these remains Naville believed that Ramesses II must have built a temple of some importance at Qantir [1].

Hamza during his excavations at Qantir in 1928 saw a block of red sandstone with the cartouches of Ramesses II. Near the modern cemetery he saw a basalt block with names of the same king. He mentions also an enormous block from a doorway [2]. Sinking pits he came upon a foundation made of one solid block of limestone which induced him to believe that a building of considerable importance must have been built there by Ramesses II [3].

My colleague Labib Habachi who has long been deeply concerned with the study of this district believes in the existence there of more than one temple of Ramesses II [4]. Seeing some blocks inscribed with the name of Ramesses II in a well at Arab Es-Sama'na a little south-east of Qantir he decided that the well was originally annexed to a temple built by Ramesses II at this site [5]. In consequence he associated Arab Es-Sama'na with Qantir and considered both sites to have been one town in Ramesside times.

He made certain soundings in 1941-1942 at Qantir and later at Tell Ed-Dab'a and assiduously collected numerous blocks from the fields around Qantir [6]. He devoted himself enthusiastically to the study and publication of these blocks and others discovered when the Es-Sama'na Canal was dug in 1945. As a result he was able to form out of the scattered blocks more than 24 complete doorways belonging to the Ramesside epoch of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties [7].

[1] Naville, *The Shrine of Saft El-Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, p. 23.
[2] Hamza, *op. cit.*, p. 35; see also Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, IV, 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 559.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 486.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 489 *f.*

Among these blocks are parts of a doorway of two sons of Ramesses II and another of the chief of works Thenry who lived in the reign of Ramesses II [1].

As the result of his study of these doorways as well as of some of the well-known Horbeit stelae, which he believes derive from Qantir rather than from Horbeit, he likewise concluded that at Qantir there was more than one temple to more than one god [2]. He also points out that Rameses II himself had a cult at Qantir and that his statues were adored there during his reign [3].

This theory of the existence of various temples at Qantir is based not only upon the architectural elements mentioned above but on textual evidence as well. Many fragments bear the names of several deities such as Amun, Ptah, Re and Maat [4] indicating that all of them were worshipped at Qantir. M. Hamza, W. C. Hayes and Labib Habachi have all come to this conclusion [5]. The portal of *Ḥwi* published by Gauthier shows that the Theban triad was also adored in Qantir [6].

Hamza who came upon hundreds glazed tiles [7], rosettes, statuettes, moulds and other objects believed in the existence of Royal palaces of Seti I, Ramesses II and their successors of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties at Qantir. Finding the name of Pi-ramesses inscribed in hieratic on certain fragments of wine jars he identified Qantir with the much-sought Pi-ramesse [8]. Hamza's theory of the identity of Pi-ramesse with Qantir was accepted by some scholars and rejected by others. Hayes is among

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 490 *f.*

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 527 *ff.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 447, cf. pp. 550-553.

(4) Naville, *op. cit.*, 23; Hamza, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 59, 60, 64, 67 and Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 557. In the town of Khatâ'na-Tell Ed-Dab'a in the Middle Kingdom also several different deities were worshipped. This is proved by the names of different gods and goddesses mentioned on the fragments discovered at these sites and by my discoveries at Esbet Rushdi (cf. Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 485 *ff*).

(5) W. C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a palace of Ramesses II at Ḳantir* (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers*, No. III, 1937), p. 7.

(6) Gauthier, *Une Tombe de la XIXe dynastie à Qantir (Delta)*, *Ann. Serv.*, XXXII, p. 127 *f.*

(7) Hamza, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 43 *ff.*

those who agreed with Hamza while Gardiner and Montet maintain that Tanis is Pi-ramesse [1].

Labib Habachi in his recent detailed study has returned firmly to the view that Qantir is Pi-ramesse, and he further maintains with more confidence than Hamza did, that the district of Khatâ'na-Qantir was also Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos. He therefore calls the whole place Avaris-Piramesse [2].

To discuss the problem further is beyond the scope of this article, but we may add some notes on the subject.

There is no doubt that Qantir is an extension of the Tell Khatâ'na and Tell Ed-Dab'a sites [3]. Labib Habachi believes that there was occupation of the later sites in the Old Kingdom [4]. I agree with him. Hamza found at Qantir a reused fragment bearing the name of king Teti of the VIth Dynasty [5]. At Esbet Rushdi, which is a part of the Khatâ'na-Ed Dab'a area, I found inscribed fragments which beyond the slightest doubt belong to the Old Kingdom. One of these fragments bears the representation of a *sm*-priest. Another block bears the conventional Old Kingdom scene of cows and bulls crossing the river and a third mentions of a « chief of the royal palace of Uni ». This King Uni is unknown and he may be a still unidentified king of the Old Kingdom.

In the Middle Kingdom there is not the slightest doubt that there was a great and prosperous town south of Qantir. A red granite gate with the names of Amenemhat I and Senusert III was found here long age. It was believed by Naville to be a portal of a temple [6]. but Labib Habachi

(1) Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 7; see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 173 *.

(2) Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, pp. 443 and 559.

(3) Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 21 *ff*; Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 444. Petrie speaks of the site of Qantir thus, « The mound here is very slight, but almost continuous with that of Ḥata'ne », *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, p. 46. I excavated for four seasons at Esbet Rushdi El-Saghira less than one kilometre south of the places where Hamza and Labib Habachi had dug. The area between although now cultivated still shows traces of potsherds and stones on the surface.

(4) Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

(5) Hamza, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

(6) Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

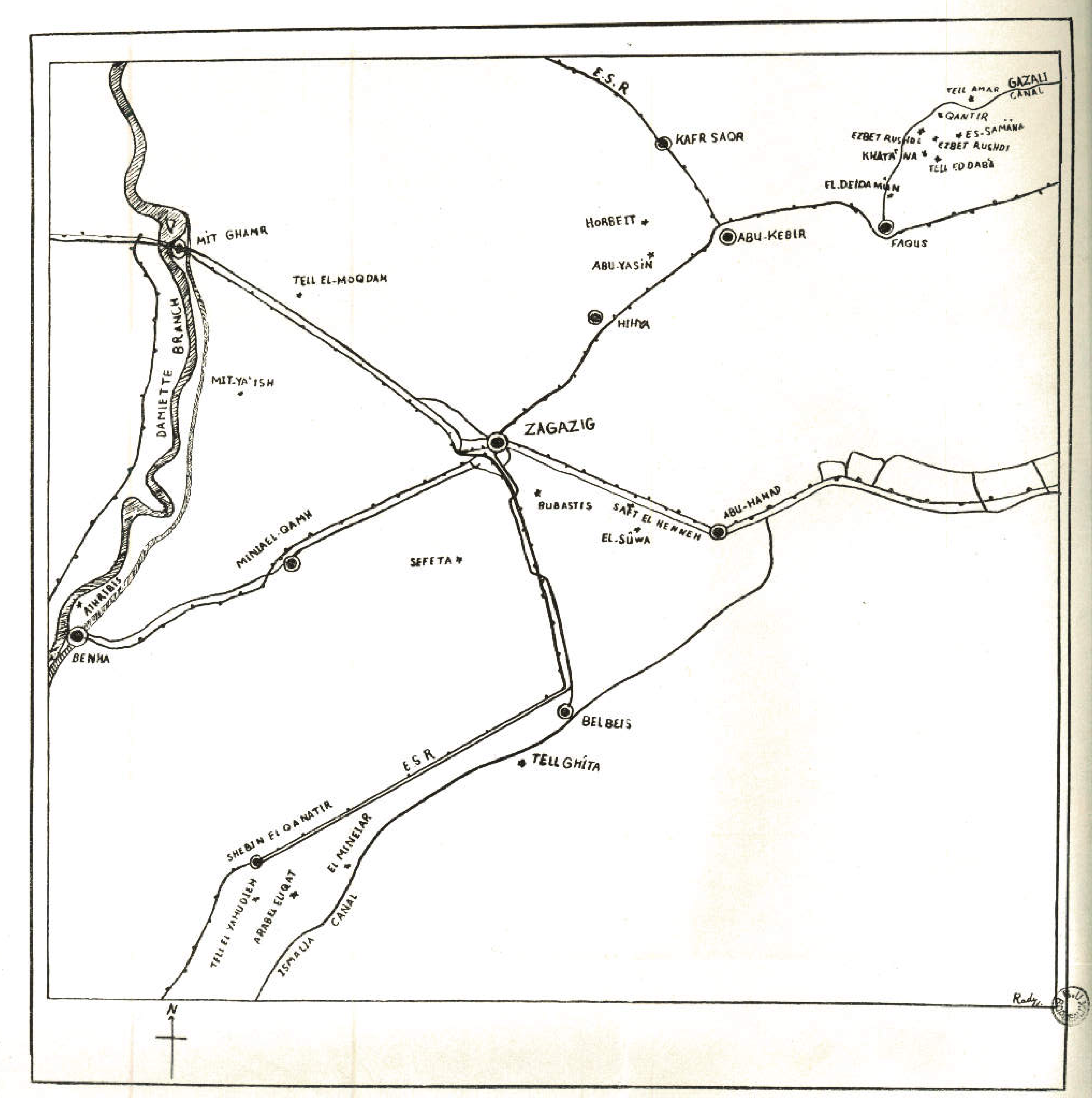
now believes that it was the portal to a colonnaded hall of a palace rather than to a temple [1]. Many statues bearing the names of kings and a queen of the Middle Kingdom were also found at Tell Ed-Dabʿa [2]. However, Seti I and Ramesses II may, after the close of the warlike XVIIIth Dynasty, have followed the tradition of their predecessors and built palaces and temples in the district. In the New Kingdom, therefore, the town may have grown only northward as is nearly always the case in all the town building in ancient Egypt.

But the evidence of the erection of palaces by Merenptah, Seti II, Ramesses III and Ramesses X at Qantir [3], and the lack of any remains of palaces at Tanis is in favour of Hamza's theory [4]. The blocks found at Qantir in 1945 and our colossus found in 1952 dismiss any doubt about the existence of temples at Qantir while the finding of inscribed glazed tiles at the same site is proof of the existence of palaces there. However we still need more decisive evidence to determine beyond doubt whether Qantir is or is not Pi-ramesse.

To-day Qantir consists of but slight mounds and a great deal of cultivated land. The ancient town must have suffered much in the course of history. It was long ignored until chance led the Department of Antiquities to dig there [5]. Nevertheless the excavations carried out at the sites of Qantir, Khatâʿna and Tell Ed-Dabʿa have been very slight. For the time being strenuous efforts by representatives of the Department are needed to protect them from unsupervised digging. There is no doubt that at these sites, notably in the Tell Ed-Dabʿa-Khatâʿna area antiquities of great importance lie hidden in the mounds that still remain and in the surrounding cultivated lands.

Shehata Adam.

(1) Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
(2) Labib Habachi, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
(3) Hamza, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
(4) This observation was made by Newberry (*JEA*, XXV, 120 *f*). Gardiner says that he was right in pointing out that no palace of Ramesses II had yet been discovered at Tanis (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 174 *).
(5) Hamza, *op. cit.*, p. 39 *f.*



Scale 1 : 300,000

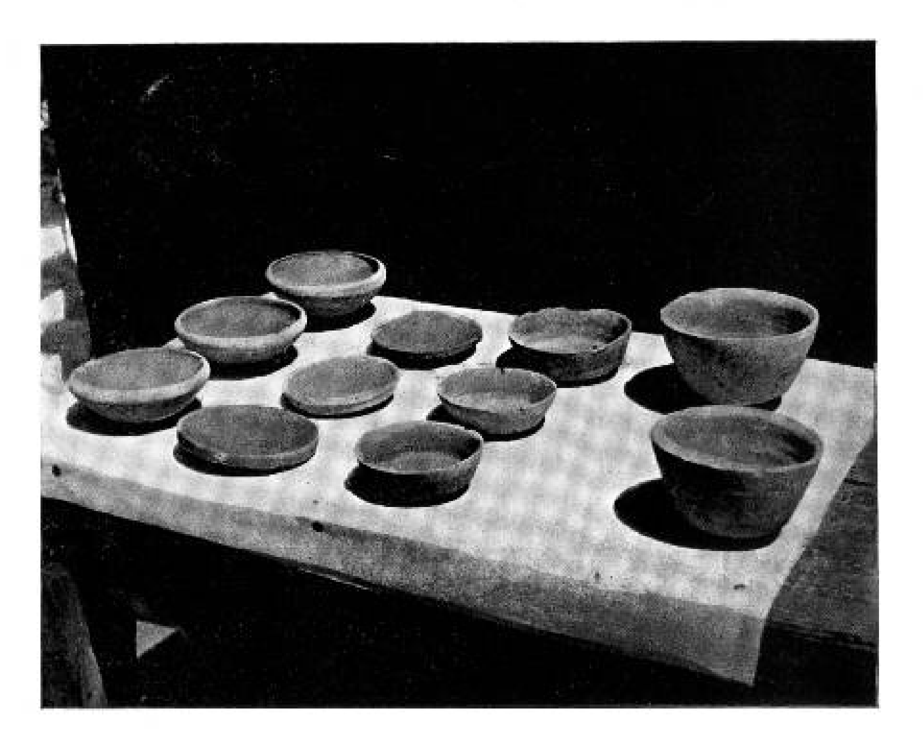


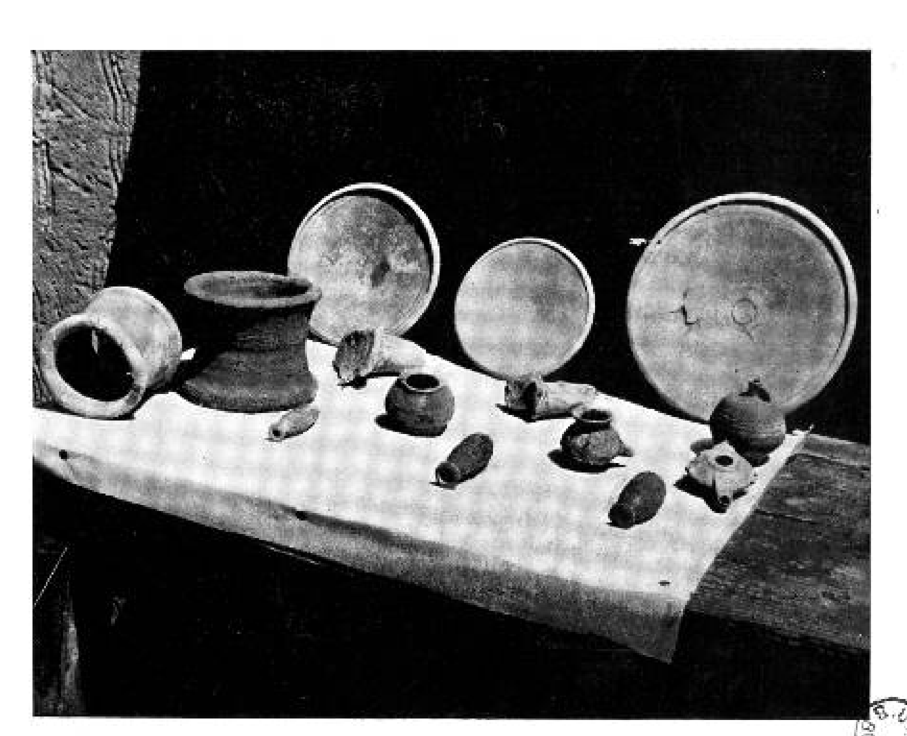
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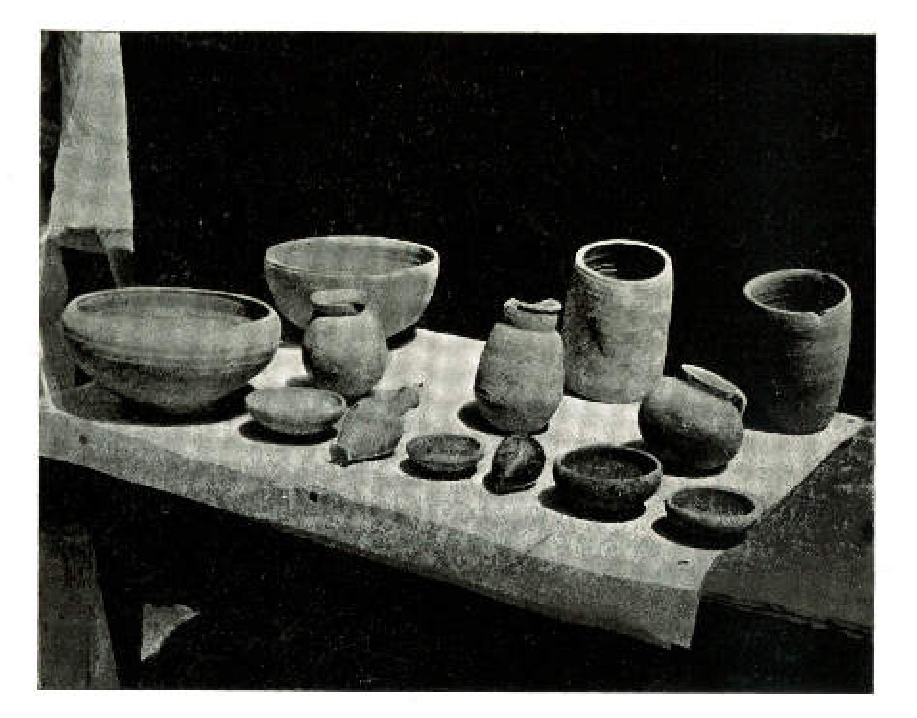
b

a, *b*.—Objects found at Mit-Ya'ish.



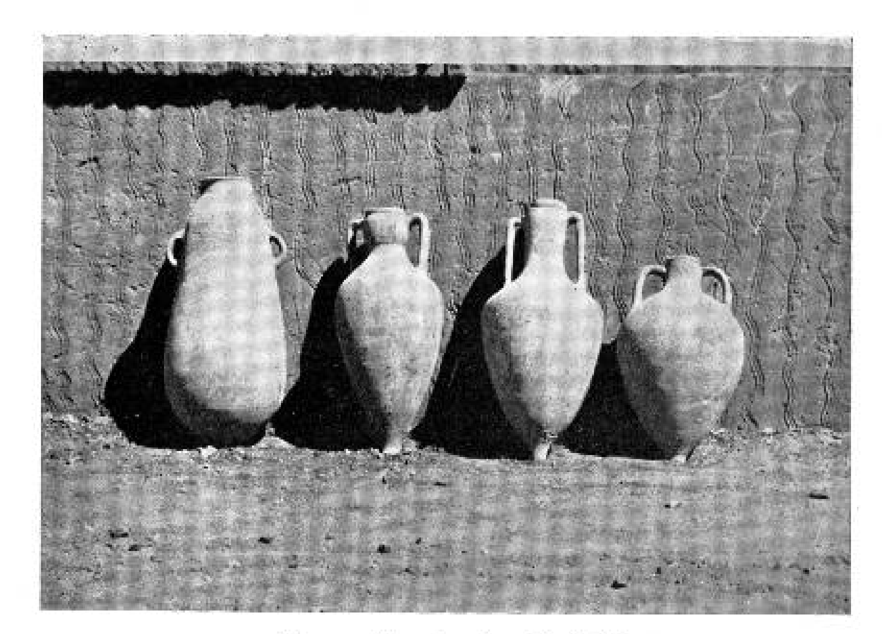


Objects found at Mit-Ya'ish.

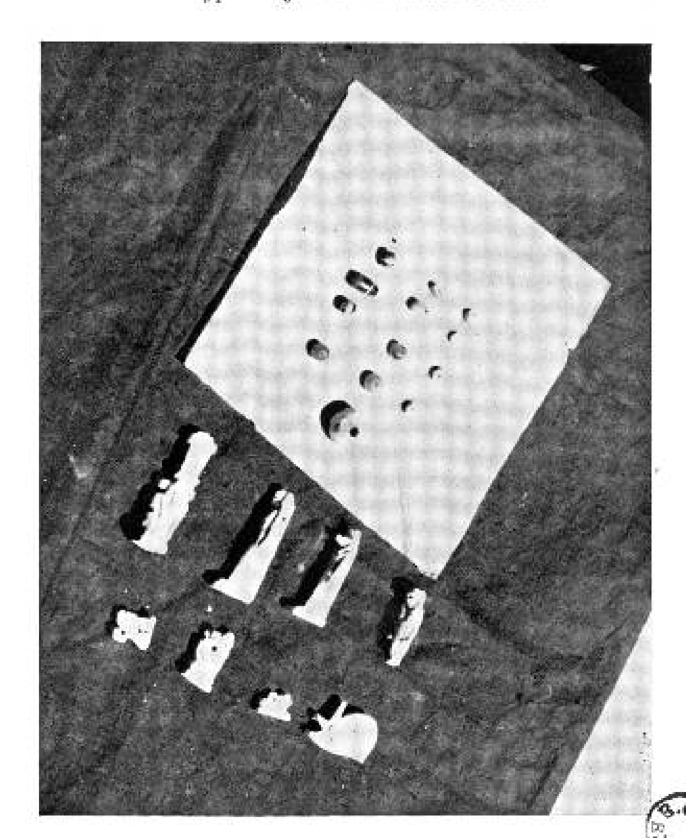




Pottery found at Mit-Yaʿish.



a.—Types of jars found at Mit-Ya'ish.



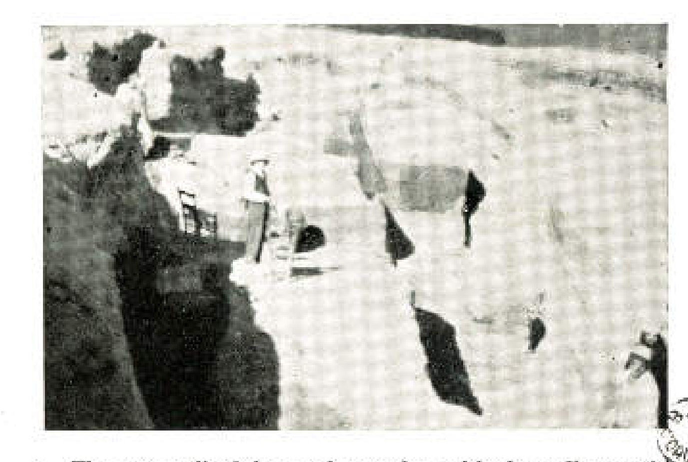
b.—Amulets and beads found at Mit-Ya'ish.



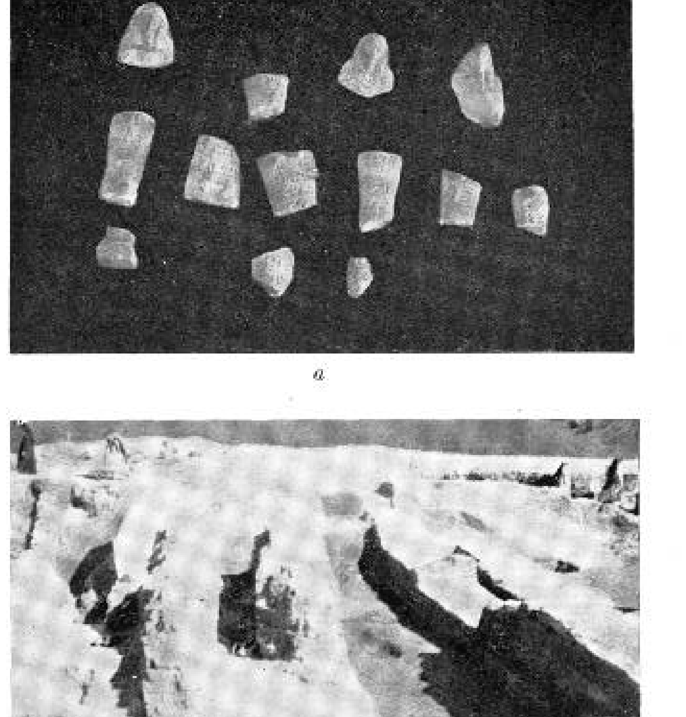
a.—The east wall of the tomb.



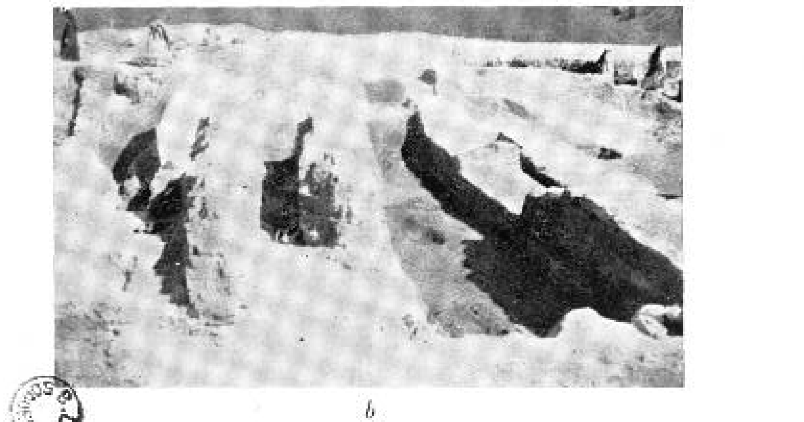
b.—The sarcophagus and the drain.



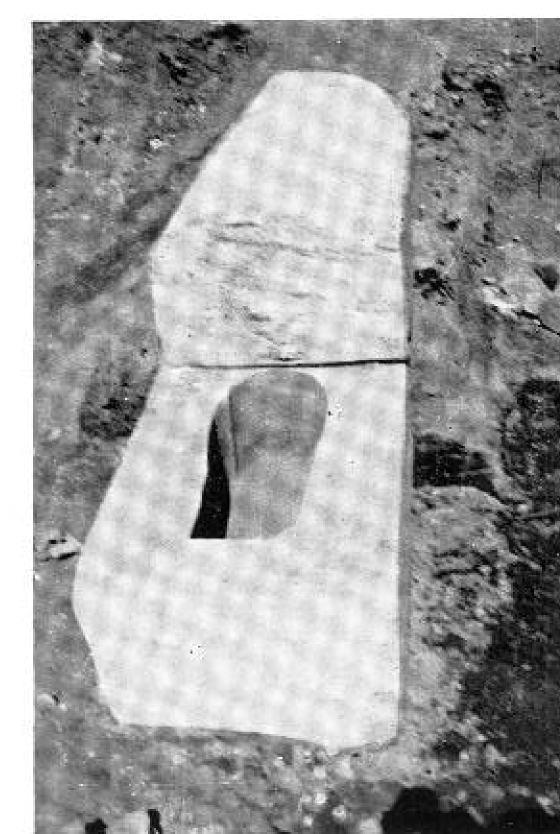
c.—The east wall of the tomb together with the wall east of it.



a

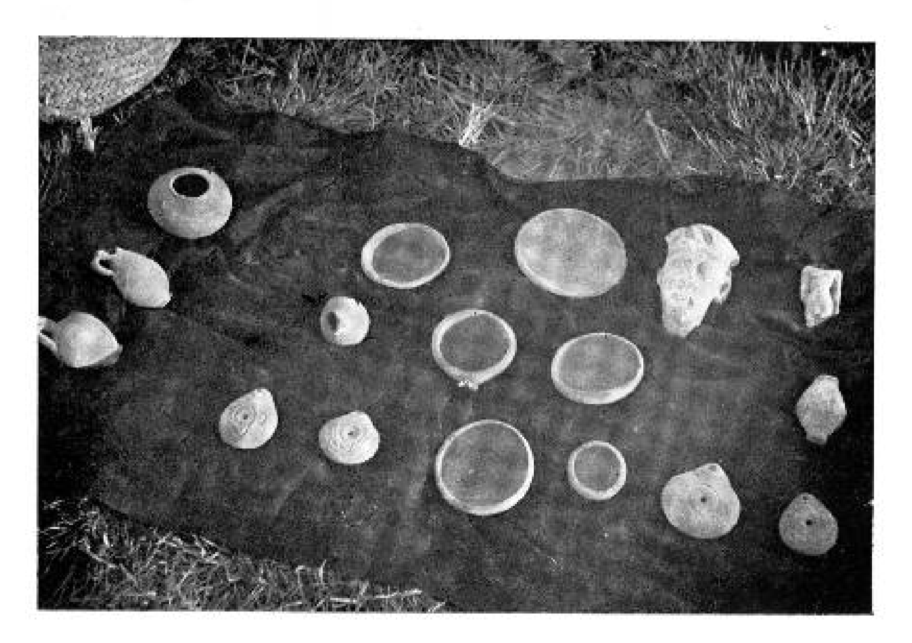


b

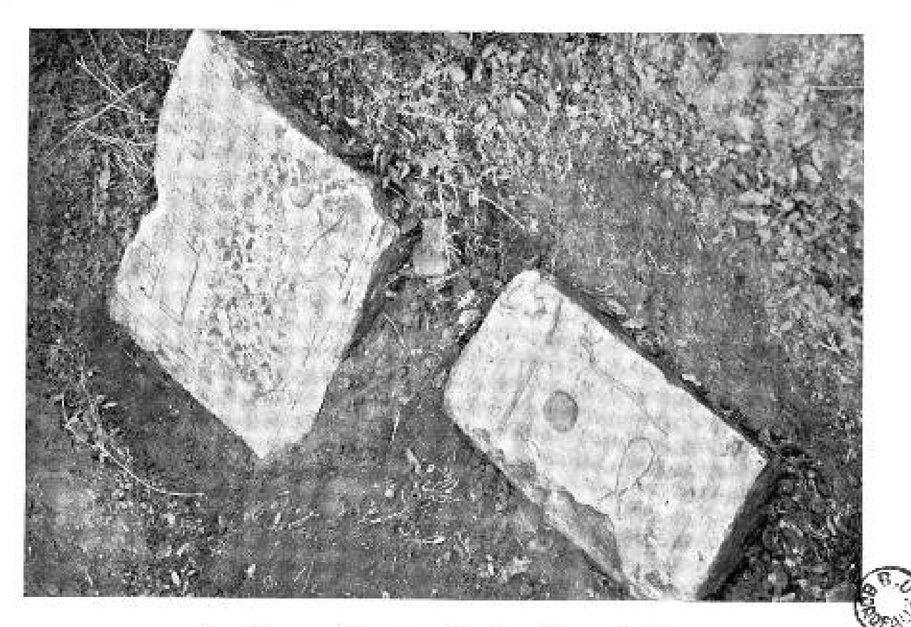


c

a, *b*, *c*.—The sarcophagus of Queen Takhuti as it was in February 1951. The lid dragged away. Head of the mummy was to the north. The sarcophagus was placed on a pavement of limestone slabs. Another pavement of mud bricks was traced under the limestone slabs.



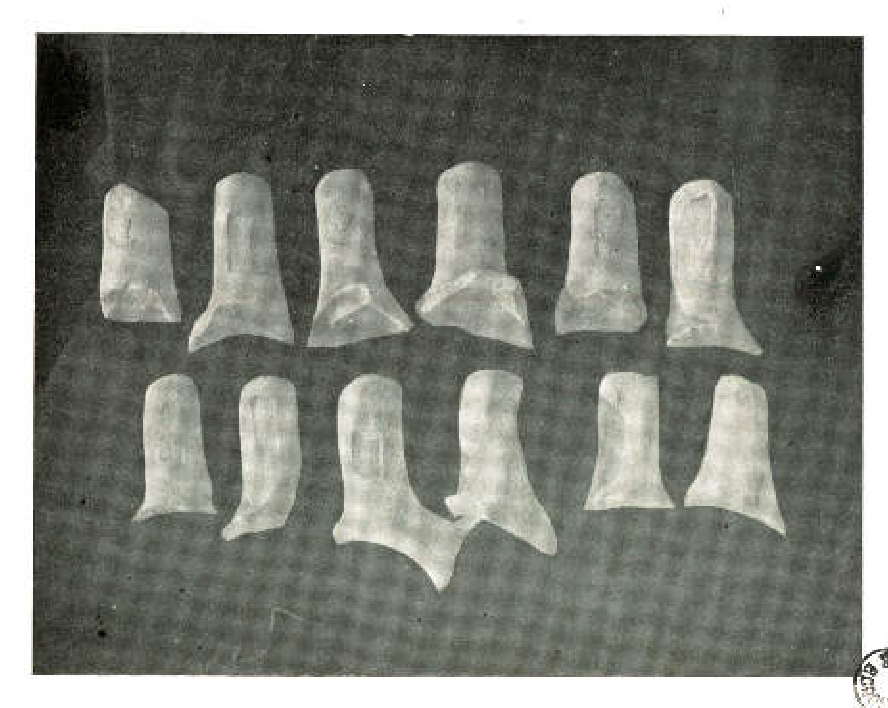
a.—Objects found in the excavations of the tomb of Queen Takhuti at Athribis.



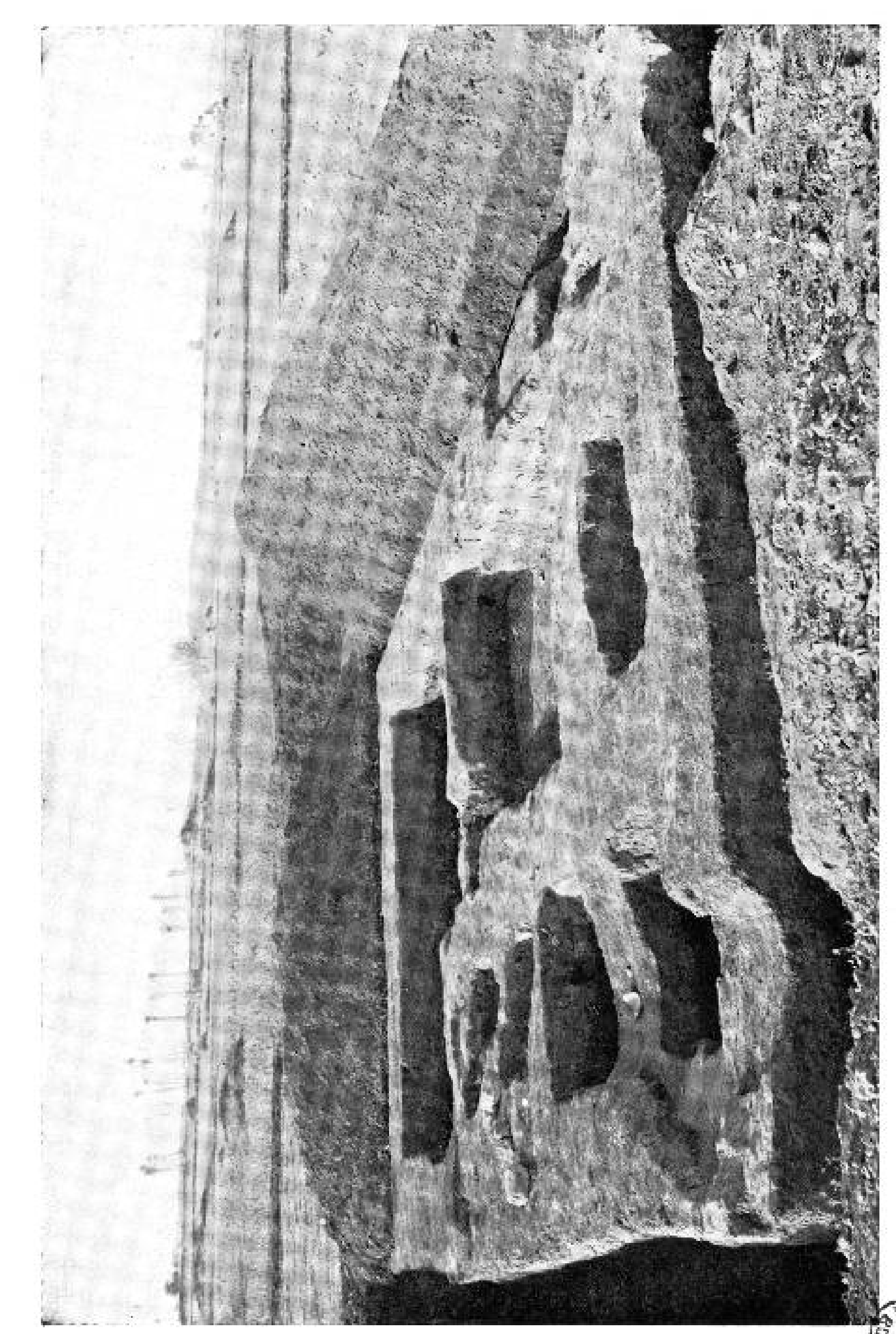
b.—The two limestone blocks of Psamtik II.



a.— Graeço-Roman objects found in the debris.



b.—Stamped jar-handles.



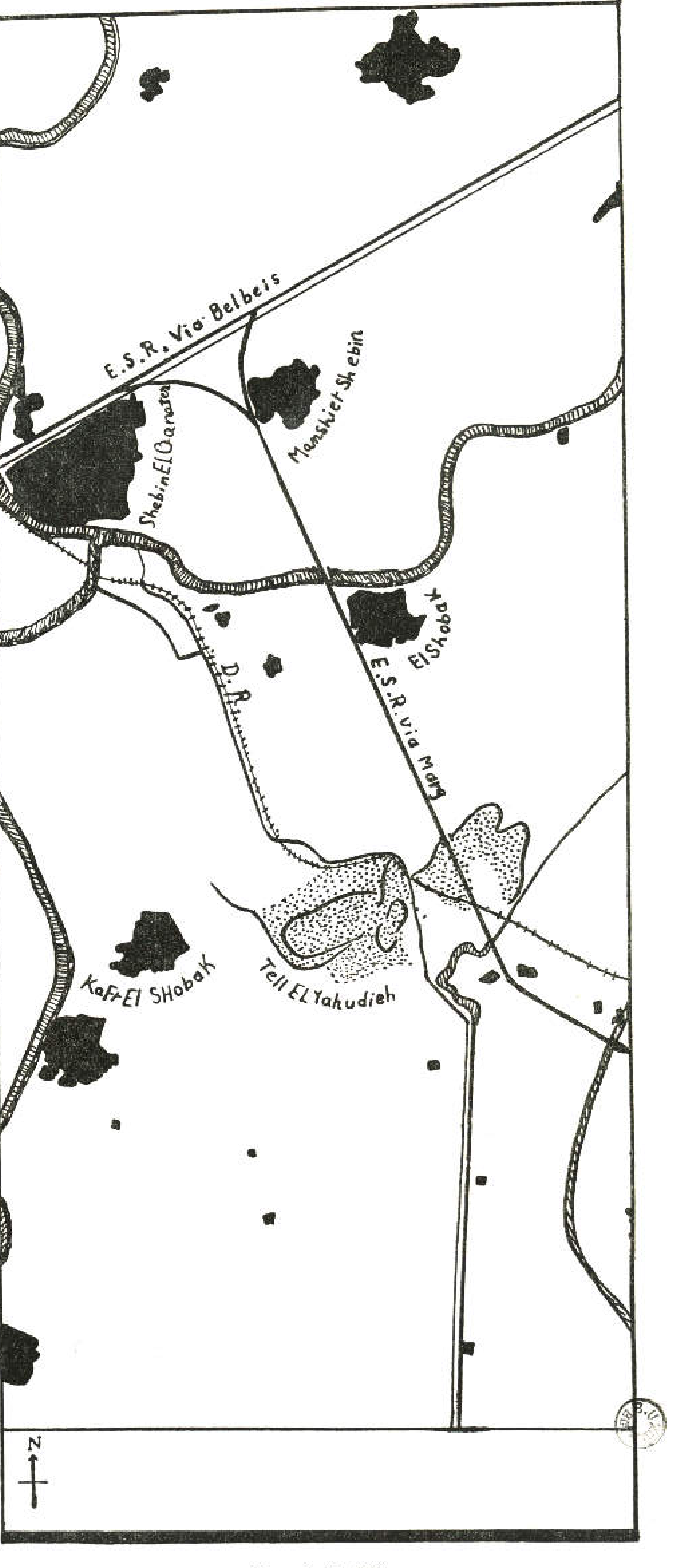
Remains of Greek period houses.





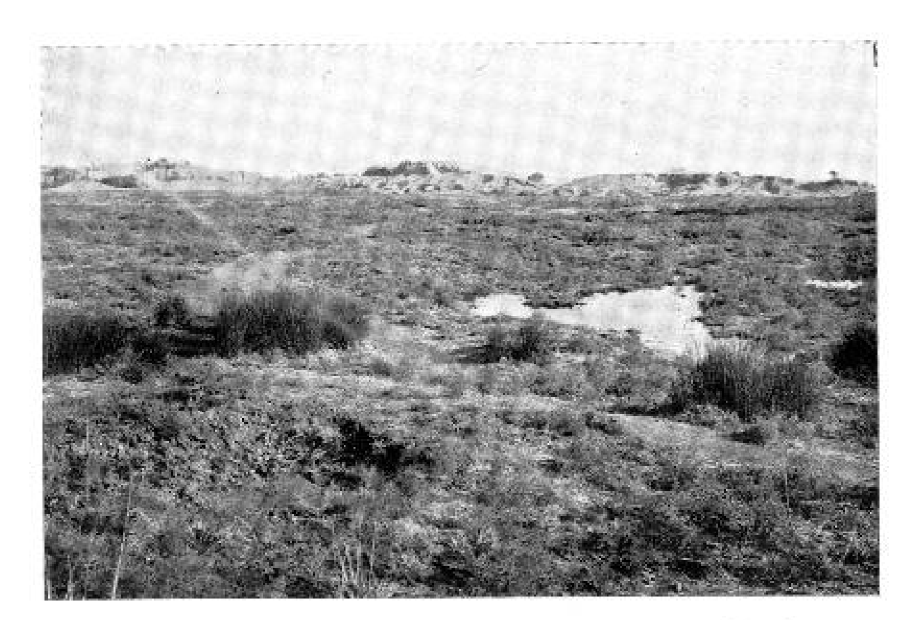


Transport of the sarcophagus of Queen Takhuti to the Cairo Museum in May 1952.



Scale 1 : 25,000

Map of Tell El-Yahudieh.



a.—General view of the «Great Tell» showing the two sand banks (Phot. 1953).



b.—Another view of the Tell showing the two sand banks and the ditch (Phot. 1953).



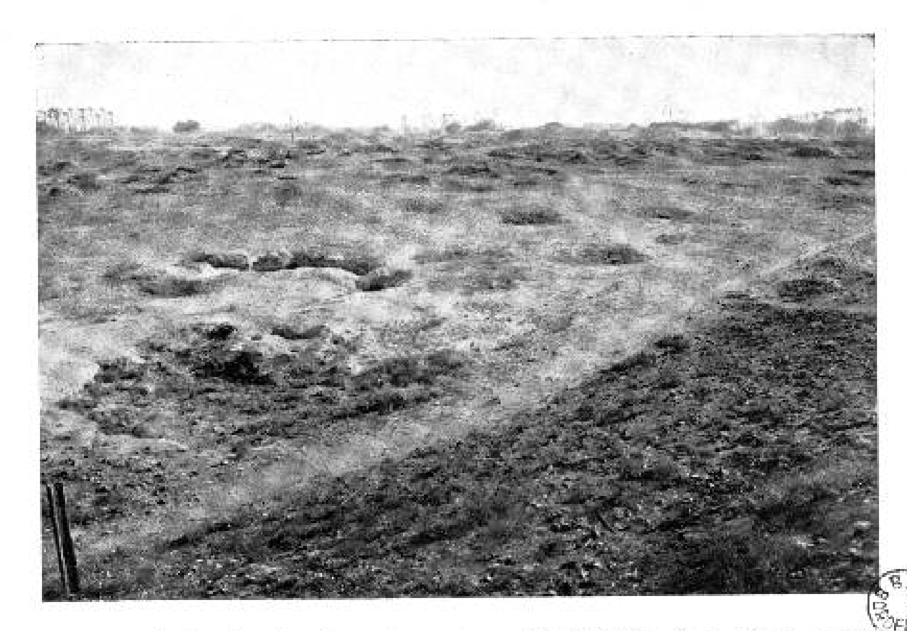
a.—General view of the middle of the «Great Tell» (Phot. 1953).



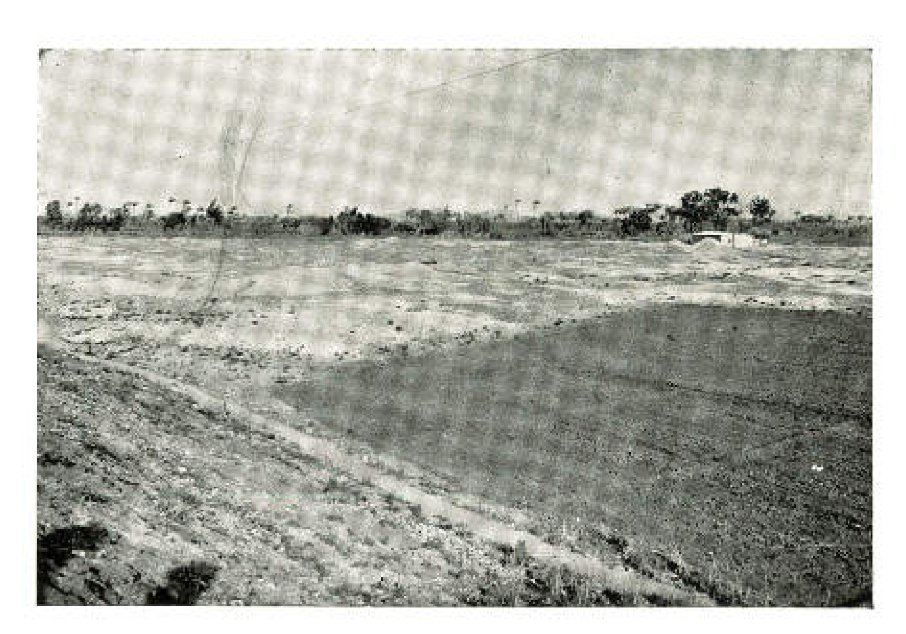
b.—Another view of the middle of the «Great Tell».



a.—General view of the western part of the «Great Tell». (Phot. 1953).



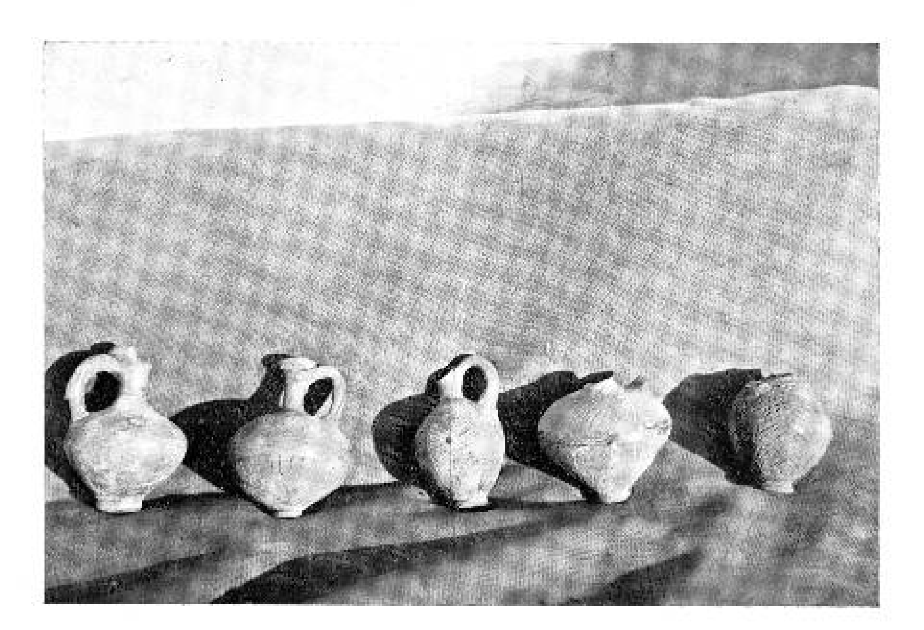
b.—General view showing the main cemetery of Tell El-Yahudieh. (Phot. 1953).



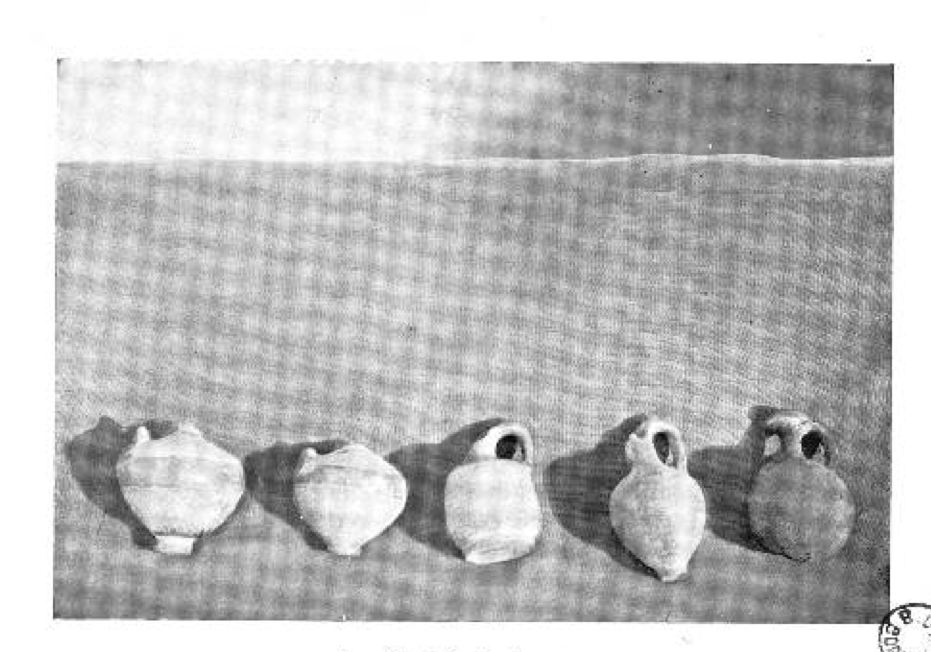
a.—General view of the «Small Tell» (Phot. 1953).



b.—A view showing the newly discovered mud brick wall.

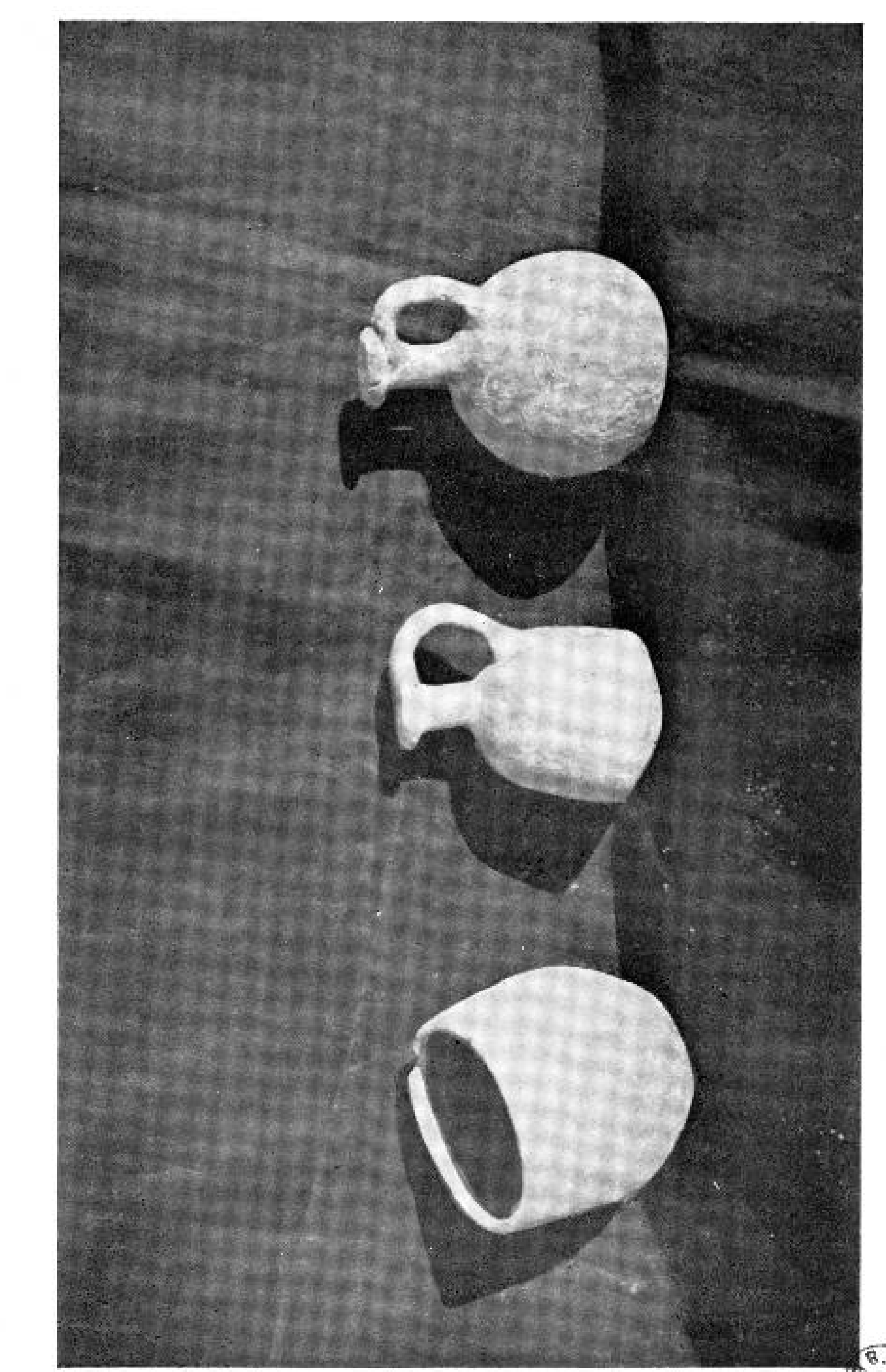


a.—Black incised pottery.

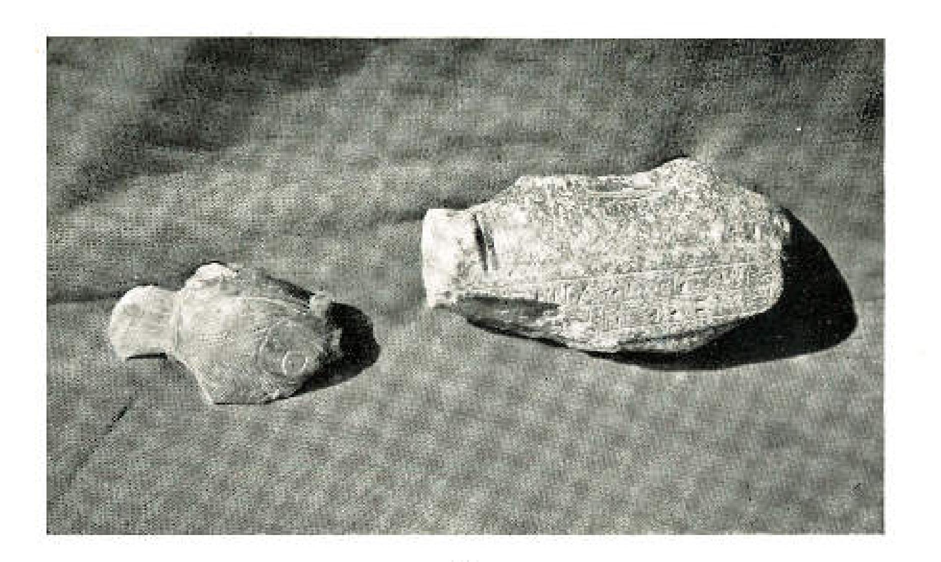


b.—Black incised pottery.

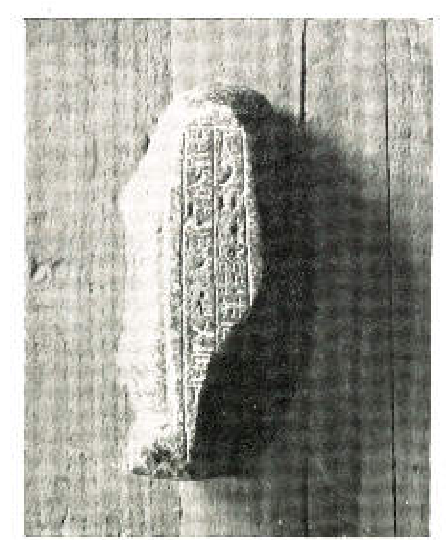
Pl. XVIII



Nos. 1 and 3 are red pottery of the Egyptian type. No. 2 is a red flask with black stripes.



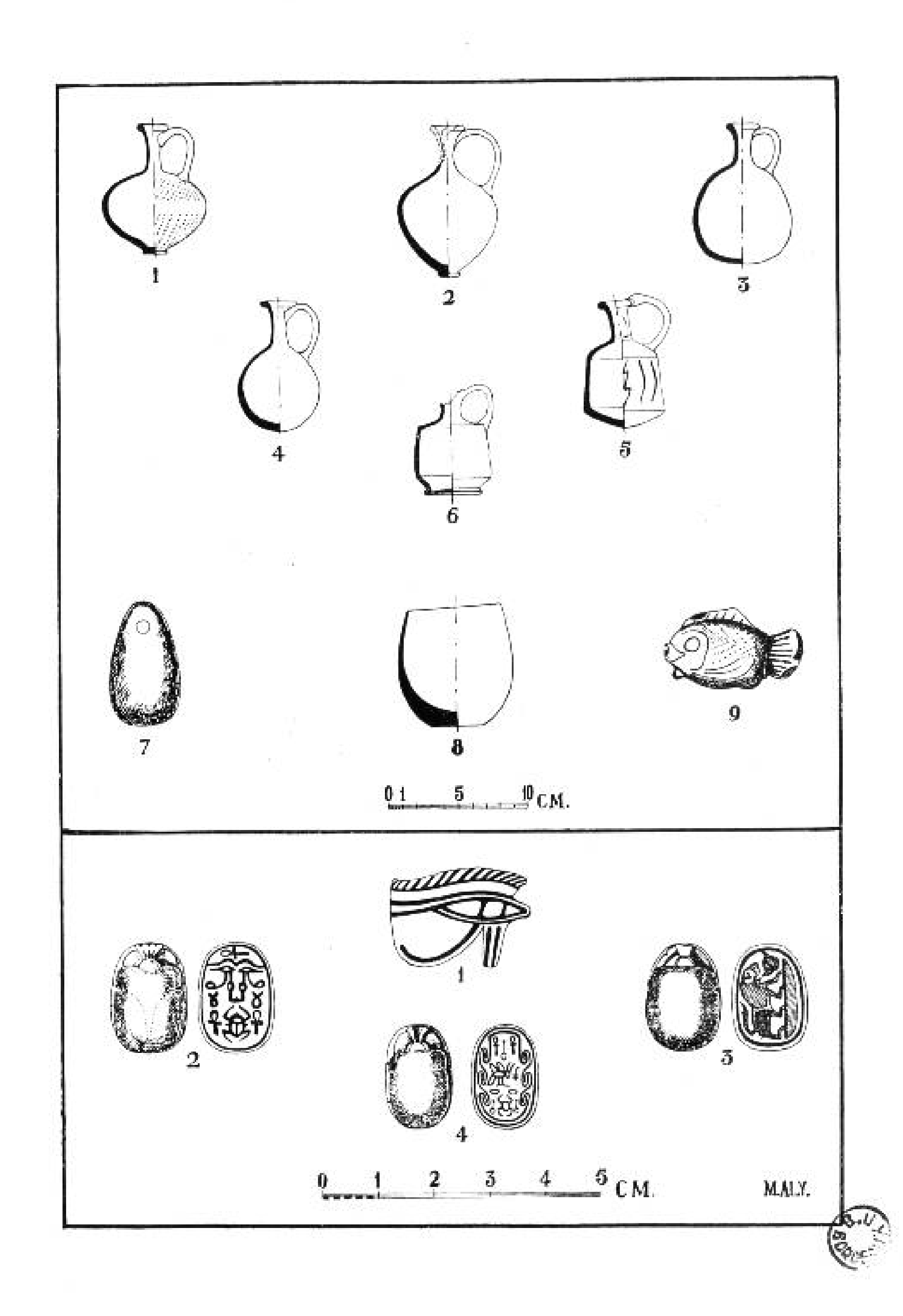
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b



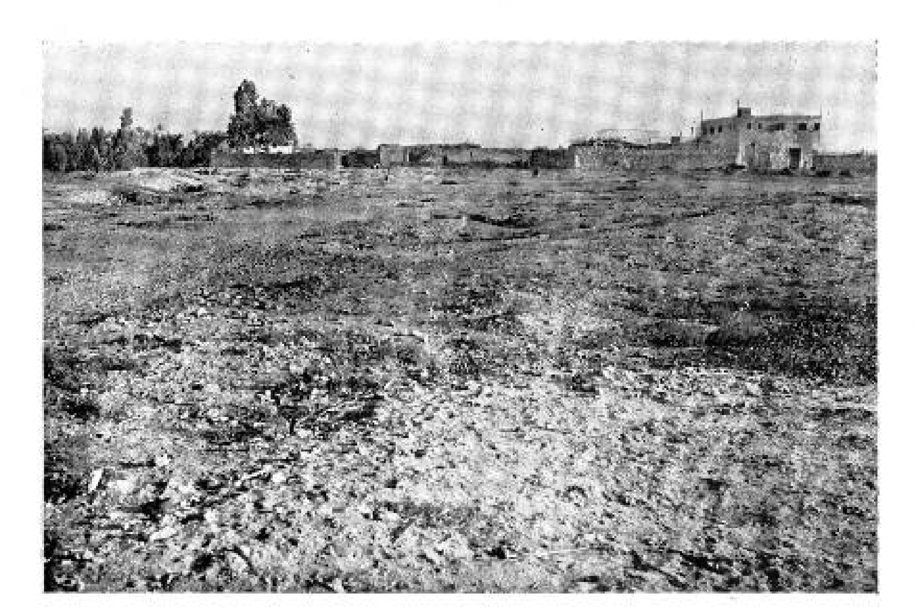
c


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0 1 2 3 4 5 CM.
M.A.L.Y.



Scale 1 : 25,000.

Map of Arab El-Eliqat.



a.—A general view of the Southern Cemetery.



b.—A general view of the Middle Cemetery.



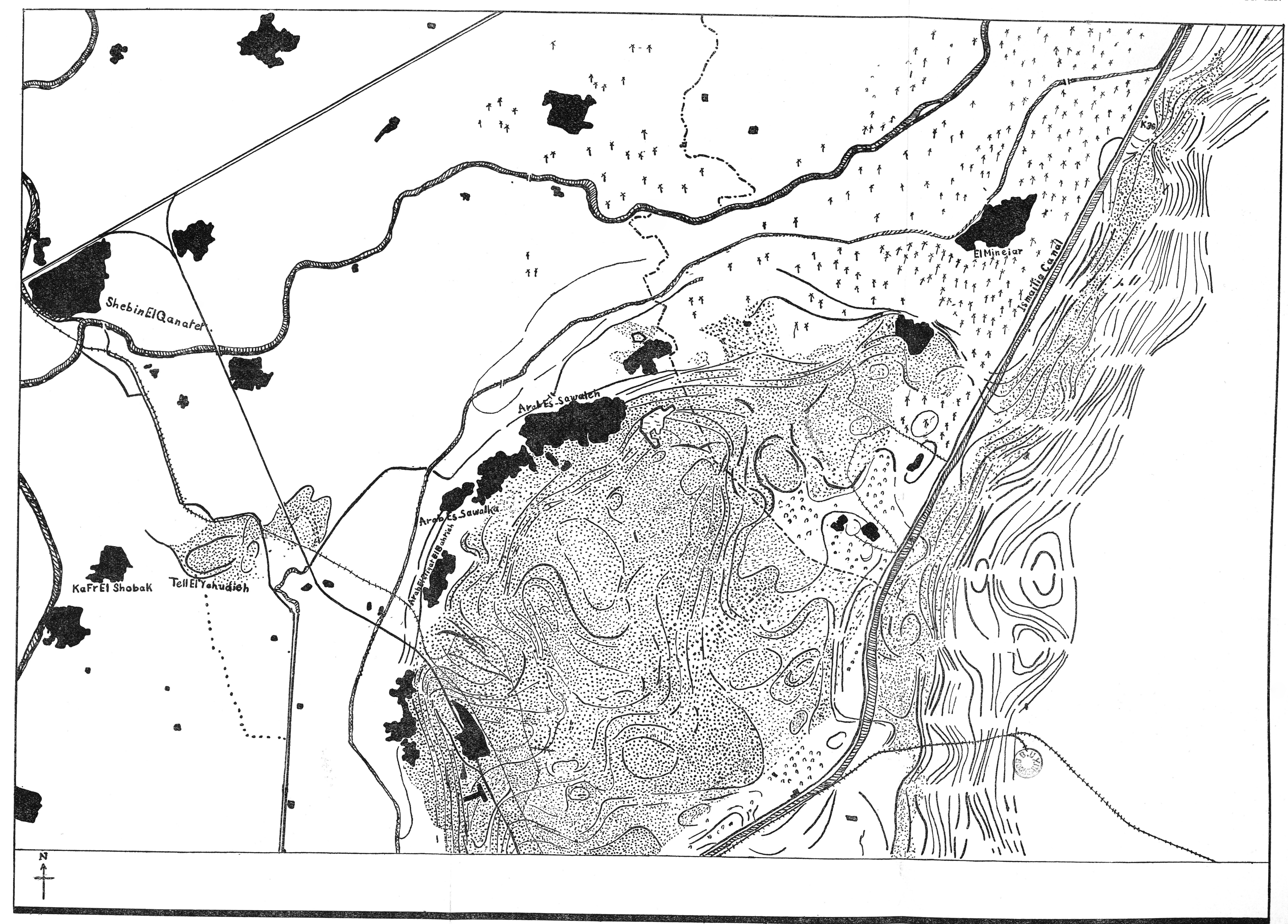
a.—Staircase and entrance to the tomb.



b.—Central chamber and niches of the tomb.

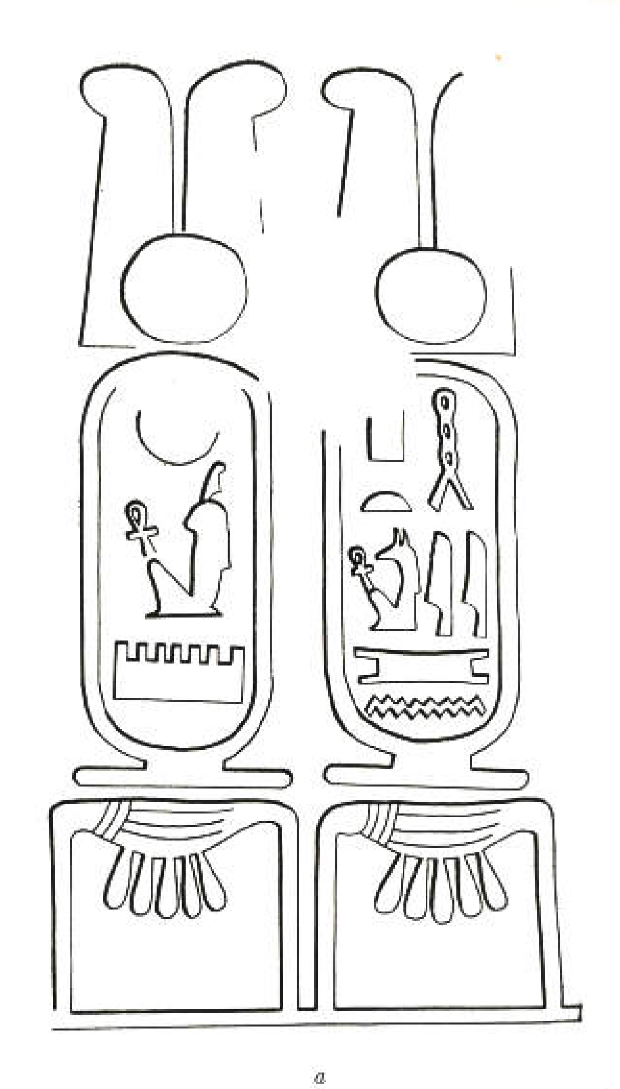


Central chamber with skeletons.

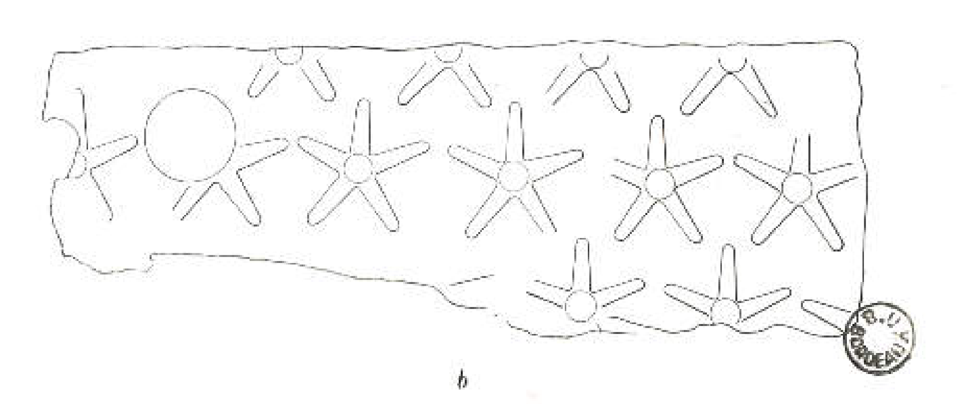


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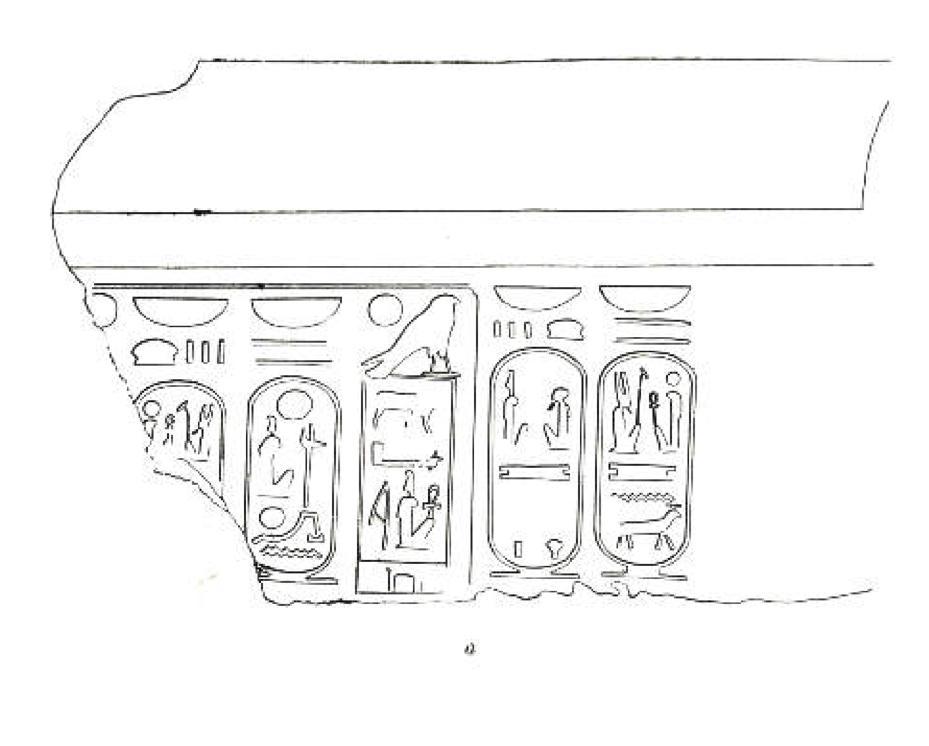
Map of El Mineiar.



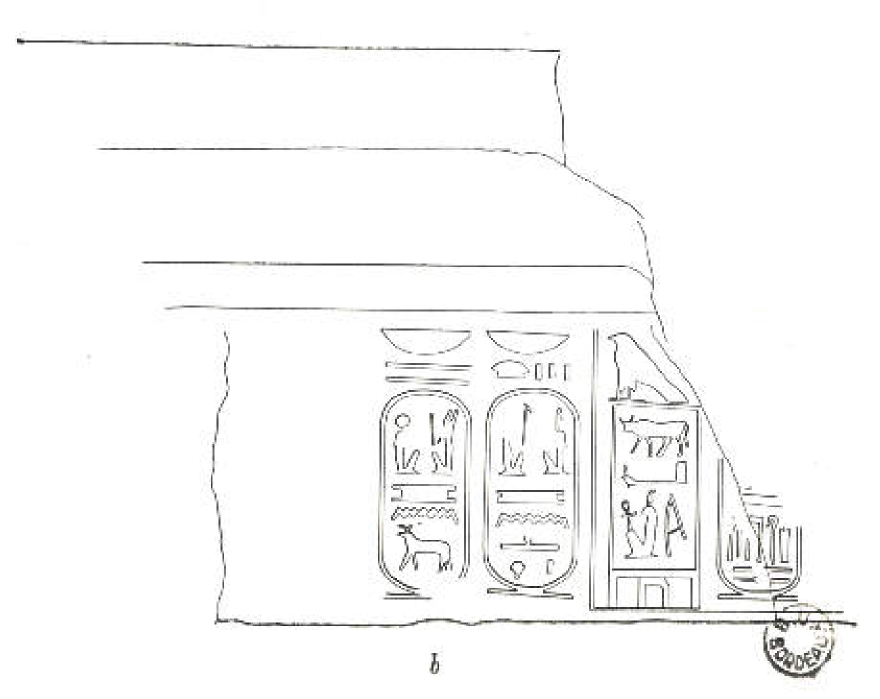
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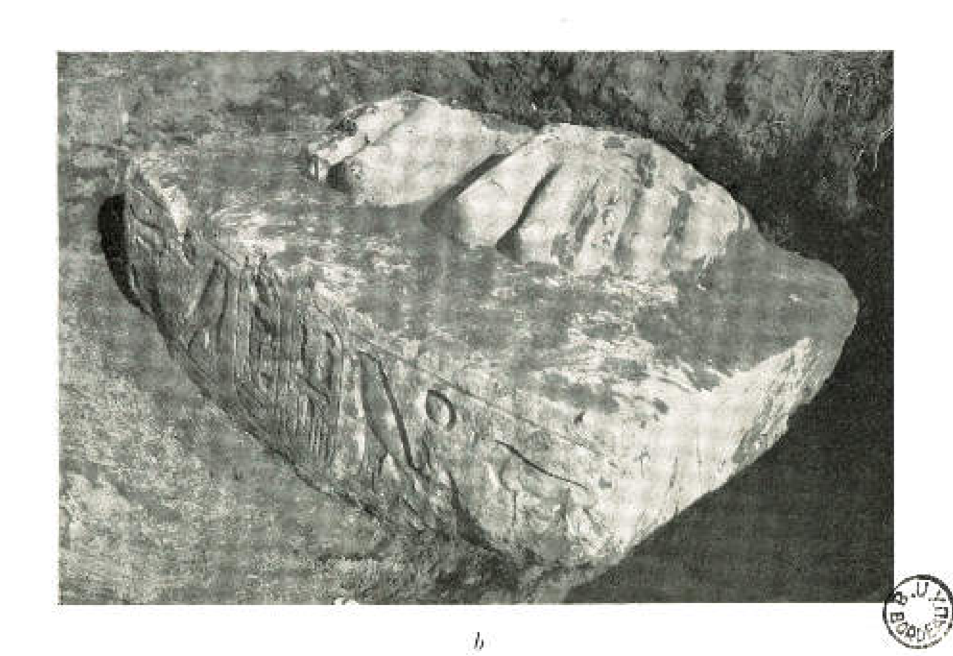
a



b



a



b

CLEARANCE OF THE TOMB OF KHERUEF AT THEBES (1957-1958)

BY

LABIB HABACHI

Introductory.

The tombs of the nobles will remain one of our main sources of information concerning the daily life of the Ancient Egyptians, their religion, art, history and many particulars about them. This was the reason why much care has been given to their clearance and study. Among these tombs, of which 407 are now known, some are of particular importance, as they clarify for us one or more of these subjects. The tomb of Kheruef (No. 192), who lived under Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, and whose main title was the chief steward of Queen Teye, stands as one of the most important in the whole Necropolis. This tomb is characterised by its beautiful reliefs, which rank among the best ones in the prosperous period of Amenophis III, when art reached its highest standard. Graceful in their expression, they are equal, if not superior, to the best examples of the period, such as are found in the tombs of Ramose (No. 55), Khaemḥēt (No. 57) and Amenemḥēt, called Surer (No. 48). The Kheruef reliefs treat religious and historical subjects, some of which are not included in the repertory of the other tombs. Here we have scenes showing the ceremonies which were held during two jubilees of Amenophis III, and in which Kheruef took a large part. On the statue, which we were fortunate enough to discover during this season, Kheruef is described as 'the excellent one who fills the heart of the lord of the Two Lands, the director of the Palace in the craft of

the jubilee [1]. Nowhere are the ceremonies of the jubilee shown in such detail as here. It is to be added that the feast of the 'Erection of the *dd*-Pillar' only here gives a clear picture of the ceremonies to be carried out on such an occasion. It may be also mentioned that some of the scenes showing Amenophis IV may help us to understand the very obscure period at the beginning of the reign of that king.

As is well known, the entrance of this tomb was found a long while ago, though the exact time when it was cleared is not exactly known [2]. The only other part of the tomb which was entered and inspected was the north-western corner of the court. Inspecting the tombs of Assasif, the famous German Egyptologist, A. Erman found himself in 1885 in this part of the tomb, where the scenes showing the jubilee of the 36th year of the king and those of 'the Erection of the *dd*-Pillar' are shown [3]. These scenes were laid bare by the illicit diggings of the tomb-robbers at that time. It seems that continual work of the robbers at this part of the Necropolis covered that corner of the tomb soon after.

It was only some 55 years later that this same corner was refound, this time also through the tomb-robbers. During the first years of the last war tombs in this Necropolis, some of which were open, buried or even quite unknown, were entered by the thieves and large parts of their reliefs and paintings were destroyed or taken away to be sold to dealers or collectors of antiquities. As soon as these destructions were discovered, steps were taken to punish the responsible people and not to allow any more destruction to happen in the future.

The Tomb of Kheruef was among the tombs which were partly destroyed by the thieves. There they entered about 1941 and sawed away the upper part of the figure of Amenophis III in his erection of the *dd*-pillar, together with parts of figures of the princesses following him. This was discovered when my colleague Ah. Fakhry, then chief inspector

[1] This statue will be published in the book which will be devoted to the study of the tomb and its inscriptions, but it is only spoken of here briefly, see below p. 9 and pl. XXI *a*, *b*.

[2] Gardiner-Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 32.

[3] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 1120-1121 and 1190-1194.

for Upper Egypt, entered the tomb on the 2nd of April, 1943 [1]. He was able then to realise the importance of the tomb and to identify it with the one entered by Erman in 1885. Soon he received enough money to uncover its decorated wall; this being formed of the part seen by Erman and its continuation. The discovery of this new part added much to the importance of the tomb and Fakhry stated that it «must be published in manner worthy of its importance», but he continues to say «My administrative duties in my inspectorate and my work in the oases would be always a handicap between me and the perfection of which I aim. At the same time it would be a great selfishness to keep the right of publication for myself until I have the opportunity to write an appropriate work, perhaps after seven or eight years» [2]. So Fakhry published the tomb and that was in a long and interesting article. Speaking of this article, he says : «The present paper contains the texts in the tomb, those of the old accessible parts as well as the recently discovered section, accompanied by sketches of the new scenes of importance and some characteristic photographs. I have purposely abstained from discussing any representation or translating or commenting on any text. All the points of interest will be dealt with in the future publication. The present article simply aims at placing in the hands of scholars a preliminary description of the scenes and accurate copies of the texts in order that they may be available for study pending a detailed publication» [3]. Such an example which is given by Fakhry in writing a long report of his work in the next year of the discovery should be followed by scholars, especially by those treating important discoveries. Scholars keeping their discoveries for many years are blocking scientific information which should be put at the disposal of other scholars as soon as possible.

Since Fakhry wrote his article, he was not able to deal again with this tomb; both he and Zakaria Ghoneim, who took part with him in the clearance of the tomb and who was thinking of publishing it, were engaged in other important discoveries which took all their time.

[1] 'A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes' in *Ann. du Serv.*, XLII, 447 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, 453.

[3] *Ibid.*

In 1954 an opportunity for the full publication of the tomb figured out. This happened when Miss Margaret Bell (now Mrs. Cameron), then Secretary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, came to pass two months in the district of Thebes to copy some of the reliefs and paintings in the Theban Necropolis. She took much interest in the tomb of Kheruef and as soon as she arrived at Chicago, she proposed to the authorities of the Institute the publication of the tomb. Dr. Kraeling, Director of the Institute, studied minutely the proposal and became very enthusiastic about its realisation. He immediately was able to raise the funds necessary for executing the scheme and wrote to the Department offering that the publication of the tomb should be made jointly with the Institute. The offer was soon accepted, but it was proposed that the tomb should be completely cleared so that a proper plan could be made and any find in the tomb recorded. A new plan was then made for the clearance and the publication of the tomb under the following conditions :

1) Works of clearance, excavation and reparation are to be carried out by the Department.

2) Drawings and photographing works are to be executed by the Institute.

3) Publication of the tomb is to be made in the name of both the Department and the Institute and to appear among the publication of the latter foundation [1].

Clearance of the Tomb.

This approved, arrangements were made to start the work as soon as possible. On December 9, 1957, I went to the site, together with Dr. George Hughes, the field Director of the Institute in Luxor and Dr. Charles Nims, his assistant, where we decided about the steps to be taken for the clearance of the tomb. During the work each discovery of any importance was reported to them immediately and I had the

[1] These conditions were approved by the High Committee of Egyptology in its meeting held on November 1957.

privilege of discussing with them any problem which I had to face. All the time they gave me their valuable help and advice, and Dr. Nims was always ready to photograph objects of any importance as soon as unearthed. It was encouraging to receive during the dig Mr. Abd El-Fattah Hilmi, and Dr. Kraeling; both of them offered their assistance. At the end of the work Mr. Boberg, the draughtsman of the Institute, made the sketch plan of the tomb accompanying this article (pl. I). To all these gentlemen I should like to express my warmest thanks.

The work started on December 12 (For the site of the tomb, see pl. II) and it was effected in the passage (A in plan) leading to the corridor (B in plan) at the entrance ; this having been blocked long ago by a wall erected by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition to keep the debris from filling the corridor (pl. III *a*). Debris was then taken to a place about 50 ms distant, near the Metropolitan Museum House, which place was used for dumping the *redim* coming from the excavations of the Museum.

The work went on slowly at first, we had then 4 trained workmen of El-Lahun and about 20 more local men from Gurneh, Karnak and Luxor, but this number was gradually increased with the progress of work until it reached at the end of work 70 people in all. Clearing the passage took about a fortnight, at the end of which we removed the stones of the wall blocking the entrance (pl. III *b*). But the passage was not cleared to the end. At about 8 ms from the entrance we met some walls built in sun-dried bricks on the *redim* on almost the same level as the top of the tomb. These walls seem to have been added later, perhaps in the Saitic Period We left them in their place until they could be satisfactorily cleared, studied and photographed.

A collection of pottery, cones, parts of wooden coffins, beads and uninscribed ushebtis were picked from time to time in the *redim* of the passage. We could enter the tomb from its main entrance on December 26. It is known that the façade and the corridor of the tomb were decorated during the first years of the reign of Amenophis IV, and some reliefs there are to be considered almost as perfect as those carved under his father (see below pp. 347-8 and pl. XXII *a*).

The corridor opens into a big court, almost square and about 26 ms in its side. This is full of debris, some even coming from the clearance

of important sections of the tomb itself. Only the parts at the east and the west sides are cleared, and there it is obvious that we have two porticos, each supported by one row of pillars, which, judging by the one at the north-eastern corner, were intended to be fluted. Whether the central part of this court (E in plan) was originally roofed or not, is quite difficult to say, though most probably it was left open; the stone in some parts of this place is not of good quality and may have collapsed.

It was known that the decorated part of the tomb lies in the wall at the back of the western portico (F, G in plan). On the opposite side (C, D in plan) of the court, there are no contemporary reliefs; but as many tombs were carved there in the Ramesside Period, reliefs are to be seen on the western wall. Of these tombs carved all around we shall speak below (p. 349, see also plan). But it may be stated here that as some of these tombs were buried under much debris, it was decided to clear them. Through this, the circulation in the tomb became easier, the importance of these later tombs was better estimated and two hitherto unknown tombs were discovered.

That work took about a month, thus bringing us to the 26th of last January. At that time we decided to work beyond the court to see how far the tomb extended. It was known that the tomb did not end with the court; a corridor (H in plan) was blocked at its western end to keep the *redim* away from filling the western portico. There was no doubt, therefore, that the tomb continued in that direction, perhaps in another court [1], like the one preceding, or in a columned hall.

At that point, the place where we were putting the debris became somewhat distant, and it was advisable to find a way of removing the *redim* to a place far from the Necropolis. This was made possible when Mr. Taha El-Shiltawi, the chief architect of the Department, arranged for lending us two lorries by which we could remove the debris directly from the excavated part to a place about one kilometre distant. This method saved us much work and assured us of taking the *redim* outside the area of the Necropolis. In most of the excavations carried out in the tombs the nearest place was chosen to put the debris, sometimes on

[1] Fakhry, *op. cit.*, 445.

some other tomb. It is hoped that in the future excavations the *redim* will be taken away, whenever possible, to the area outside the Necropolis.

Working in the part beyond the court, we found that much *redim* had been heaped above its top; this had most probably come from the tomb of Khereuf and the neighbouring tombs. We decided to take that *redim* away to see what was underneath. After working for about two weeks, we found that we had here cut out in the rock a hall (I in plan) of which a large part of the roof had long since collapsed (pl. IV *a*). This gave us the possibility of clearing the hall from the roof without passing through the decorated part of the court. But much more work was needed to remove huge blocks falling from the roof. Thus the work with breaking big blocks and removing them, together with large amounts of chips of stones, went slowly. Still it was not void of interest, for there we made some interesting discoveries.

In the *redim* we found parts of a tomb wall. From time to time were picked up fragments of coffins, packets of linen cloth with embalming material, and once we found a sealed tall narrow vase, which proved to have a similar material. But more important are the scores of fragments of limestone with sketches in red and black ink. Also we found some other fragments of quartzite and dark grey granite coming from statues. Some of these fragments proved to bear the name of Kheruef, thus giving us the hope of finding statues of this man.

Before the pavement was reached, it was clear that the roof was supported by columns, most of which had been already destroyed. But when the work was more advanced, many foundations of these were encountered; two proved to have a part of the stem still standing, while a third was found complete. Only half of the hall was completely cleared; the other half was dug to two thirds of its height (pl. IV *b*). Still it can be said that the hall was supported by thirty columns arranged in three rows; the one nearest to the court is formed of fluted columns inscribed on four opposite faces, while the other two rows consist of uninscribed papyrus-bud columns.

In the pavement of the hall, a surprise was waiting for us. In three different places, a shaft was carved leading to a chamber or more where later burials were found. Some of these had been undisturbed, where

coffins containing cartonnage with vivid colours were brought to light. Also in the *redim* were found burials, mostly disturbed. All these burials can be dated to a period between the 21st and the 26th dynasties.

But most interesting was the discovery of the lower part of a statue of Kheruef. This was a statue, almost lifesize, in dark grey granite. Fragments of this statue and of another in quartzite were picked up in the *redim*. We hope to find more of their parts in the yet unexcavated part of the tomb.

In the middle of the western side of the Hall opens a door leading to a longitudinal Hall, of which we could clear almost half. This proved to have had on the sides a row of pillars and is, therefore, formed of a nave and two aisles, but no part of it was found decorated. Many pillars were found destroyed, but it seems that we had 11 pillars on each side (K in plan). At the end there is a chamber with an entrance: these were perhaps added later. With this Hall, the tomb ends and thus attains about 70 ms in its length and nearly 25 ms in its breadth. It can be considered undoubtedly one of the biggest tombs of the nobles in the Theban Necropolis.

Loose Objects.

Having given an account of the process of clearing the tomb as far as it went till the middle of April, when we decided to stop the work, we can now proceed to describe the finds and to give the result of our work. We shall devote the present paragraph to the description of objects which were found loose in the *redim*, the next one to later burials and the last one to a brief study of Kheruef and his career and a discussion as to how the tomb was reused in different periods later on.

We have stated above that cones, pots, wooden pieces of coffins and faience beads and ushebtis were picked up in the passage leading to the entrance. We can add now that most of the cones proved to have come from the neighbouring Saitic tombs of Ibi (No. 36) and Pedcharresenet (No. 196)[1]. The pots found may date to the same period or

[1] These are typical to the ones published by Davies-Macadam, *Corpus of Cones* Nos. 450, 515, 609. There were found one inscribed by Basa, No. 392 and another by Amenemope, called Thanaufer, No. 73.

even later (pl. V *a*): they are of somewhat crude workmanship. Rather important is a fragment of a coffin with the name of 'the chief of the South', Pedcharresenet' of whom we discovered some cones (5 in pl. IX and 1 in pl. XII). The entrance to this tomb is not far from the passage and it seems that some of its contents were plundered. Among the objects which were found also in the passage were faience beads and ushebtis, which came from the neighbouring tombs.

But more important objects were found in the *redim* of the Hall. Among these objects were found fragments of a tomb wall made in mud with a layer, sometimes a centimetre or more in thickness, of plaster on which beautiful designs in colour were painted (pl. V *b*). The two largest blocks probably belong to the same scene. The first, consisting of two registers, have on the upper one a monkey under a chair where the tomb owner certainly sat (1, 2 in pl. V *b*); the lower register shows priests officiating in connection with a burnt offering. The other fragment contains the depiction of a priest clad in panther skin before burning offerings on an offering table with at least four stands; this might be a part of a scene connected with the Feast of the Valley[1].

But from where these fragments came? It is difficult to give a decisive answer to such a question. But it can be surmised that they came from some neighbouring tomb. Judging from the style of the paintings we may date this tomb to the end of the XVIIIth or the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty. Luckily we get one or more hieroglyphic signs inscribed on some of the small fragments of this collection. Three of these fragments, which fit one another, bear the tail of a panther, perhaps coming from the garment worn by the priest mentioned above. Behind him is the bottom of the seated man hieroglyph determining the name of the tomb owner, followed by the words: 'the deceased, master of veneration' (3 in pl. V *b*). Another block has the signs '... of Kush' (4 in pl. V *b*). Most probably we have on another the end of the title 'the overseer of the Southern Countries', which is one of the main titles of most of the viceroys of Kush. This is followed by the word 'Amen...', which

[1] For the rites done in this festival see S. Schott, *Das Schöne Fest vom Wüstetale*, 20 ff. I owe this reference to my friend E. Wente.

may have been the beginning of the owner's name (5 in pl. V *b*). We may have here fragments of the tomb of a viceroy of Kush, whose name begins with Amun, such as Amenhotep of Tuthmosis IV or Amenemopet of Seti I [1].

Quite interesting also are the fragments of limestone which bear sketches in black or red ink. Of these the majority bear the drawing of a head of the king wearing the *khopresh*-crown (pl. VI *a*). It is interesting to see how trials to draw this same item were not always successful, some even can be considered as caricature [2]. Also other heads were drawn with different grades of success (15-16 in pl. VI *b*) [3]. Figures were also shown, such as those of a woman, a dog, a jackal-headed god and a bird (13, 17-23 in pl. VI *b*; 4,7 in pl. VII). Quite particular is the figure of two falcons with the double crown, the one in front seems to have been corrected and drawn on a higher level. Also the figure of two sphinxes are worth notice; these seem to show a pair of these, perhaps in an avenue of that imaginary creature (1, 3 in pl. VII).

On two blocks, somewhat regular, are study drawings on both faces. One of these has on one face a couple sitting on chairs with a few signs of hieroglyphs above (6 in pl. VII).

On the opposite side is a figure of a man with a fan hanging behind from his shoulders and lifting his arms in adoration. Before him is an incomplete inscription running retrograde and reading : '.... provisions coming forth before thee in thy beautiful feast of the day-bark Neshmet (2) (namely) to the *ka* of Osiris the prince and governor, the fan-bearer on the right [of the king] .....' (5 in pl. VII).

The second block has on one face a woman followed by a man (14 in pl. VI *b*). The woman lifts one hand, and holds with the other a flower which she holds to her nose; the man following has two uplifted

[1] The second of them has got the title 'the overseer of the Southern Countries', see *JEA*, 6, 32 (5).

[2] Collections of these are found in various museums, see for example in the German Museum, Brunner-Traut, *Die altagyptischen Scherbenbilder der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen*, 48 ff. (32-40); Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des Ostraca figurés de Deir El-Medineh*, 2568-2592.

[3] Hayes, *Ostraca and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (No. 71) at Thebes*, 5.

arms, while a flower is seen between the two individuals. Above is an inscription which is very difficult to follow; perhaps it was made for practicing writing hieroglyphic. On the opposite face seems to be drawn a scene showing a procession of people, perhaps priests bearing on their shoulders two statues of a queen and a king. The procession is preceded by a person, perhaps the king (2 in pl. VII).

It is difficult to find out the reason why such a large number of trial pieces were found in the tomb of Kheruef, was it used as a place where students of art were trained? In the tomb were some graffiti with the names of scribes and draughtsmen, and perhaps at one time these persons brought their students to copy some examples of the golden times of the Egyptian art.

In the *redim* of the passage leading to the entrance was found a big pot with wide straps painted in red (1 in pl. V). In the debris of the Hall another pot, together with packets of linen were found. All these, as we have already stated, proved to contain embalming material. The contents of these were studied by Dr. Zaki Iskander, the Director of the Laboratory of the Cairo Museum, who also, together with Mr. Youssef Argalious and Mr. Abd El-Latif Erfan worked with me in examining and strengthening the coffins and their contents found in the Hall. Here is a brief report of Dr. Iskander about the embalming material found in the pots and the packets :

The first pot proved to contain the following :

1) The upper part was filled with parts of a garland composed of folded Persea-leaves stringed together withs trips of *Dôm*-leaves.

2) The middle part was packed with many linen shrouds, which were yellowish-brown, yellow or almost white in colour. The brown shrouds were probably embalmers pads since they were impregnated with fatty and resinous matters. In between these shrouds were also found some lumps of inorganic matter which was probably resinous.

3) The rest of the jar contained a great quantity of saw-dust which proved to be mixed with resinous matter.

The second jar contained in its upper part three linen bags containing a mixture of natron, powdered limestone and an organic matter, the nature

of which is not yet determined. The rest of the jar was filled with a great quantity of light yellowish-brown powder which proved to have almost the same composition as the powder found in the bags.

The packets contain yellowish-brown powder; this powder proved to be mostly of natron (sodium chloride, sodium sulphate, sod. carbonate and sod. bicarbonate), powdered limestone and fatty organic matter in a small proportion. Samples of all the above-mentioned material were transferred to the Chemical Laboratory, Department of Antiquities, Cairo, for detailed analysis and study.

On the pavement of the Hall were found two poor burials, one of these consisted of a mummy wrapped in bandages which was found covered with bundles of reeds (pl. VIII *b*, *c*). These were examined by Dr. Elhamy Greiss of the Botany Department, Faculty of Science, Cairo University, who reported on them as follows :

The bundles are composed of the leaves and culms of a common Gramineous weed; Desmostachya bipinnata (a halfa grass). The length of the units of the bundle (leaves and culms) is about 40 cm. and their breadth is about 3-5 mms.

The second burial consisted of a coffin, rectangular in section and with barrel vaulted sides (pl. VIII *a*). In the floor of the coffin was attached a sort of inner moulding of anthropoid form, hardly long enough to contain the mummy. Mixed with the *redim* were found fragments of coffins of much more important people; unluckily these coffins were broken to pieces and also partly burnt. But fragments of one of them, forming parts of the lid, gave us the name of the owner and his forefathers. He came from a family many members of which assumed the function of 'prophet of Monthu ... and scribe of the divine offerings of Amenre...'. This man proved to have been related to some people whose coffins were discovered in the hiding place of the prophets of Monthu at Deir El-Bahari about the middle of the last century.

The surviving fragments show that the lid was anthropoid. Under the face was a bird, then some vertical lines, a horizontal one and at last an inscription of 8 long vertical lines, speaking of gods, especially of Atum and giving the whole genealogy of the family (1 in pl. IX). On the sides are the representations of the sons of Horus, followed by other divinities.

It is interesting to give here the text which affords us with the titles of the owner and his parents as revealed in the inscription in the middle. According to this inscription he was 'the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes, the scribe of the divine offerings in the domain of Amûn, Nesmin, the deceased, son of the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes, the scribe of the divine offerings in the domain of Amûn, Horsiese, the deceased, son of the prophet of Monthu, the scribe of the divine offerings in the estate of Amûn, Nebneteru, the deceased', son of the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes, the scribe of the divine offerings in the estate of Amûn, Merkhonsu, the deceased; his mother being the mistress of the house, Tashepenkhonsu, the deceased' (8 in pl. XII). In the hiding place at Deir El-Bahari were found the two coffins of 'the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes, the scribe of the divine offerings in the estate of Amûn, Nebneteru, the deceased, son of the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes, the scribe of the divine offerings in the estate of Amûn, Merkhonsu, the deceased'.[1] In Kheruef's tomb we have the coffin of the grandson of Nebneteru, son of Merkhonsu of Deir El-Bahari. It is noteworthy that we discovered near the lid of the coffin of Nesmin a lid of another coffin belonging to 'the prophet of Monthu, lord of Thebes and residing in *Iwn Šmʿ*, Mer ....' (2 in pl. IX *b* and 2 in pl. XII). Whether this prophet was related to Nesmin is a question very difficult to answer.

A part of coffin was found inscribed with the name of 'the mistress of the house, Qai' (3 in pl. XII). This has a beautiful figure of Nephthys, shown with a green garment and with ribbons hanging from her arms. More important are four pillars in wood each having two inscriptions on two adjacent sides; on the other sides are holes undoubtedly to receive planks of wood, forming most probably a big outer coffin with a rectangular form (3 in pl. IX). The pillars forming the sides of this coffin had been subjected to fire, but two were not much effected, their inscriptions are almost complete. On one of the incomplete pillars, there is an invocation to Osiris on one side and to Geb on the other side (5 in pl. XII).

[1] Such as seen on the coffins of Nebneteru, see Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Monthu*, Nos. 41060 and 41061.

Invocations to the same gods are to be found on a complete pillar (6 in pl. XII). On the other complete pillar are two invocations to Anubis, referred to by different epithets (7 in pl. XII); quite probably the fourth pillar had similar invocations (4 in pl. XII).

In the *redim* also we found many parts of anthropoid coffins, but these are not sufficient to give us details about their owners. Perhaps in clearing the rest of the tomb, we may be fortunate enough to find more elements to help us in knowing more about their ownership. Still it may be worthy of notice to point out the discovery of some solid canopic jars, undoubtedly originally accompanying one of the burials. Also we found 14 uraei in wood painted light brown and with beautiful details. Some of these were found fixed to a piece of wood, perhaps originally fixed to the top of a shrine or a similar object (4 in pl. IX). All these objects came from burials which were plundered during some time. But luckily we came across some of the undisturbed burials.

Secondary Burials.

Nothing is yet known about the exact burial-place of Kheruef, which, however, may be in the south-western corner of the Hall as is the case with the Tomb of Ramose (No. 55), where an underground passage opens in the corner of the colonnaded hall of the vizier of Amenophis III [1]. What is known now is that this Hall of Khereuf was used as a burial place for priests and their families who lived in a period not earlier than the XXIst Dynasty. In the *redim* were found fragments of wooden coffins, on the pavement two poor burials and in three tombs hollowed in the pavement were discovered family burials (For the positions of these, see plan and pl. IV *b*).

Beneath the northern wall, at about 3 ms from the north-western corner of the Hall, is an opening which leads to a chamber, about one metre high, but which is not regular on the sides, being about 3 ms by 4 ms. On its opening were found a door jamb, a coffin lid and a mummy cover placed upside down (pl. X *a*). This chamber is carved to the north of the opening and had in the western side three coffins placed parallel

[1] Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. I, and p. 11.

to each other with the heads north (pl. XI *a*). In the eastern side of the chamber are three more coffins, two parallel to each other, the heads also north, while the third has the head directed to the east (pl. XI *b*). The first group was made for the divine father of Amûn, Thaenwast, his daughter the chantress of Amûn, the mistress of the house, Tashebt, and another lady, parhaps his wife, called Shepenkhonsu. One of the coffins from the other group belongs to the chantress of Amûn, Kapathau, but the others cannot be identified, since they are uninscribed.

The uninscribed coffins had inside them the mummies wrapped in bandages, those of Kapathau, Thaenwast, and his daughter Tashebt had a cartonnage with the mummy inside; while that of Shepenkhonsu contained an inner coffin, enclosing the cartonnage, then the mummy. All the lids of the coffins were found attached to the bottom through the dowels fixed to the former part, fitting in the holes in the latter by means of pegs. The cartonnage was made of linen layers strengthened together with an adhesive and covered with a layer of plaster which is painted with beautiful designs. Sometimes the whole designs are varnished, but usually the face and sometimes other parts of the body are not. The face is usually painted pink red, when the owner is a woman and ochre red, when it represents a man. Each cartonnage was found laced at the back. On each side was a row of holes through which passes one string. The two strings were linked together spirally with an independent one. The foot part was closed with a wooden board laced with a linen string, while a linen band was stretched on the lower part of the cartonnage and along the laced part with an adhesive.

Now we shall give a short description of each of these burials, recording their inscriptions in Pls. XII-XV. It is needless to give a translation of these inscriptions, as they are of the ordinary type; it is sufficient at the end to determine the genealogy of some of the families. Beginning from the west to the east, we found first the coffin of the lady Shepenkhonsu, about 2 ms in length, with maximum height 76 cms (pl. XVI *a*). As we have noted above, this contained an inner coffin, then the cartonnage with the mummy. The outside coffin is plain; only the eyes and eyebrows are painted black. It has in the middle of the lid a vertical line of inscription with an invocation to « Re-Horakhti-Atum, lord of the Two Lands,

the One of Heliopolis, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, master of *Shetayt*» (1 in pl. XIII). The inside coffin has beautiful colours on the bust, showing the head, the wig and the necklaces. Below is falcon-headed scarab holding the sign of eternity between its rear legs and referred to as : «the One of *Behdet*, the great god, lord of heaven». Underneath is a *Di-nsw-htp* formula addressed to «Osiris, lord of the Westeners, the great god, lord of Abydos» for the sake of the owner, described as daughter of Zedbastetefonkh. On the left side of the bottom is a similar prayer, this time addressed to the same gods as on the outer lid, while the one on the right is directed to Osiris referred to by the same epithets as found in the middle of the lid of the inner coffin (2 in pl. XIII). The bottom of the coffin has the figure of Nut in large scale, extending her hands with the sign of life. She is clad in a red garment and has her name above the head.

The cartonnage is painted with vivid colours and varnished except for the face and the wig. Under the bust is a ram-headed bird with outstretched wings, under which is Osiris on both sides, followed on the left by Hapi and Qebhsenuf and on the right by Imesti and Duamutef. Below is a hawk with outstretched wings, then the emblem of Abydos. On the sides of that emblem is Isis on the right, and Nephthys on the left, then a hawk on both sides, referred to as «the One of *Behdet*» and at the bottom two jackals, one described as 'Upuat of Lower Egypt', while the other is spoken of as 'Upuat of Upper Egypt'. The inscriptions on the pole of the emblem of Abydos and on its sides speak of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys and refer to the mother and the father of Shepenkhonsu (3 in pl. XIII). These we shall discuss when we deal with the next two burials.

The next coffin is that of the divine father of Amun, Thaenwast. It is about 2 ms long and 54 cms high, breaks are filled with plaster (pl. XVI *b*). On the coffin is a prayer to «Osiris, the pre-eminent of the Westeners, the great god, lord of Abydos» (3 in pl. XIV). Inside, on the bottom of the coffin, is the representation of the goddess of Nut, bearing the vase which stands for her name, and shown clad in a red garment and with ribbons hanging from the shoulders. Another ribbon is tied to her waist; each ribbon ends with three signs of life. Below the goddess are three bows.

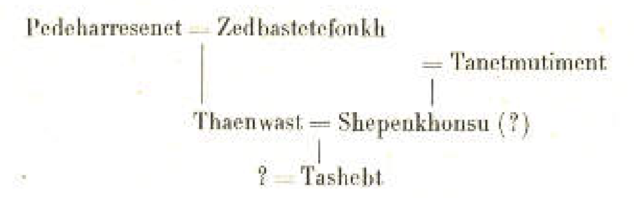
The cartonnage has decoration almost like that of Shepenkhonsu, only Osiris is not shown with the sons of Horus and falcons are referred to here as : 'Djerti' and both the Upuat-jackals as «lord of heaven». On the pole of the emblem of Abydos, we have a prayer addressed to Osiris, who is given the same titles as on the lid of the coffin (4 in pl. XIV). We shall speak of the family of this man when we finish describing the next coffin belonging to his daughter.

That coffin has beautiful colours showing the bust (pl. XVII *a*). Underneath is a falcon-headed winged scarab with the sign of eternity between the rear legs, just as found on the inner coffin of Shepenkhonsu. That this decoration is found on both coffins and that they were placed near each other may suggest that they belonged to two persons related to each other, perhaps daughter and mother. Under the scarab is a column of inscription in colour giving us the name of the owner of the coffin, her father and grandfather as : «Osiris, the mistress of the house, the respectful one Tashebt, the daughter of the divine father of Amûn, Thaenwast, son of Harresent, the deceased». On the right side of the coffin is a somewhat similar inscription and on the other side another inscription with colours. In the inner side of the bottom of the coffin is the goddess Nut, shown with hands stretched by her side. Above is her name and she is, as usual, clad in a red garment.

The cartonnage inside has beautiful colours, varnished all over, except for the face, the neck, some parts of the wig and two rows of the necklace. On the bust is the figure of the goddess Maʿet, then the winged ram and the emblem of Osiris, flanked by two goddesses with outstretched wings. Below them are the four sons of Horus, followed on the side by a lion-headed bird. A line of inscription is seen on the pole of the emblem, giving also the name of the owner and her father (1 in pl. XV). Underneath is the *Sokar*-bark with Isis and a ram-headed god on one side and a similar god and Nephthys on the other. At the bottom is an inscription of two lines with a recumbent lion, below which is a jackal on each side. On the back of the cartonnage are three registers with various genii and emblems.

The other cartonnages were found so stiff that it was impossible to remove the mummy without spoiling the cartonnage. In the case of

Tashebt, the mummy with the bandages was rather thin and could be extracted easily. This gave us the opportunity to examine the mummy and its wrappings. Narrow strips with blue dyed pattern, about 3 ms long and 5 cms broad, were found above the bandages. These were found followed by many bandages, each about 3,5 ms long and 15 cms wide, some of them fringes at their narrow ends. Some of the bandages were in the form of shawls. After many layers of linen were found clusters of hair locks attached with resinous material to the lower part of the neck. Each lock was bound together with hair string forming a loop, by which it was attached to the whole collection. Over the head were found remains of her hair fairly long in some places. In between the thighs, quite close to the vulva lay a packet on the surface of which appeared a yellowish white material. It is possible that this contained a foetus or was due to the subsidal of the vulva (Pl. XVII *b*). The genealogy of Tashebt, and the family may be established as follows :



We now turn to the other group, meeting first an unscribed coffin, 182 cms long and 52 cms high (pl. XVIII *a* left). The lid has no decoration except for the eyes and eyebrows, which are executed in black ink. Inside was found just the mummy wrapped in bandages, some of them with a blue band. This was left untouched to give an idea of how the mummies were wrapped. The next coffin belongs to 'the mistress of the house, Kapathau'. This is 175 cms long and 60 cms high (pl. XVIII *b*). The lid has the bust of the owner shown with vivid colours. Underneath is a prayer to the gods, mentioned on the inner and outer coffins of Shepenkhonsu, suggesting a relation between the two. On the inside of the bottom of the coffin is the representation of the goddess clad in red and with ribbons hanging from the arms. Above the head is the seat, showing that the goddess is Isis and not Mut as in the other cases.

The cartonnage shows the owner with beautiful features, no varnish is seen. Beneath the bust is a falcon stretching the wings with the four sons of Horus on the sides. Below is the emblem of Abydos, extending down the cartonnage to the bottom. This is flanked with Isis and Nephthys, then standing falcons and recumbent jackals. The pole of the emblem has a prayer to Osiris, and on the sides are inscriptions that show that she was 'a chantress of Amûn'.

The last coffin is uninscribed; only the eyes and eyebrows are painted black (pl. XVIII *a* right). It seems to have belonged to a young man; it is 140 cms long and 40 cms high. Plaster was used in some parts as an adhesive for filling gaps or smooth surfaces. The mummy inside was found wrapped in about 2 layers of linen strips, some of which were long and narrow pieces, some being in the form of shawls. Near the body was found a piece with a blue border. Material of mummification was found sticking some of the linen to the body. The embalment's incision was found in the left of the abdomen, and the two arms were stretched so that the two hands lay side by side on the sexual organ.

At the opening of the chamber, where these coffins were found, were the lid of a coffin, an anthropoid cover, and a door leaf in wood. The bigger lid has a vertical line of inscription with some registers showing the figure of deities and the bust of the owner. The inscription in the middle expresses a wish that Osiris may give offerings to «Osiris the *web*-priest of Amenre, the king of the gods, the scribe of the divine offerings in the estate of Amun, Mehmut (?)...» (4 in pl. XV; 2 in pl. X *b*). The anthropoid covering has under the bust the representation of a garment in beads with a line in the middle, giving an invocation to «Re-Horakhti-Atum, lord of the Two Lands, the One of *'Iun Šm'*.... and to Anubis.... that they may give offerings to Osiris, the *web*-priest of Amenre, the king of the gods....» (5 in pl. XV, 3 in pl. X *b*). Here the name has been carefully effaced, but as they were found close to each other and as they have the same titles, it is quite probable that they belong to the same person. This person should have lived before Thanwast and his family.

A second burial was found in the north-eastern corner of the Hall. A hole, almost square in section and about 60 cms in every side and 3 ms deep, leads to a chamber, where two coffins were found side by

side, heads to the west. Above them were stretched garlands (see pl. XIX *a*). Dr. Greiss has been so kind as to examine these garlands and to give the following report :

"The garland is composed of several semi-circular scattered branches found on the surface of the two coffins. The branch delivered is formed of a main bundle of thin strips of Hyphaene thebaica (Dôm-leaf) tied together by other strips of the same leaf. The strips vary in breadth from 1-3 mms. At almost regular distances of 5 cms hang other sub-branches of folded leaves around a single internal concealed strip of Dôm leaf, 3-4 mms wide. The sub-branches are composed of Mimusops schimpari (Perséa) leaves.

Each leaf is folded in two different directions, firstly lengthwise through the whole surface of the leaf towards its upper or ventral side, then folded crosswise twice. The remaining surface exposed after the crosswise folding is almost square-shaped and about 2 cms broad. The leaves are strung together with two thread-like interlacing strips of Dôm-leaf. At more or less regular intervals of 3.5 cms hang from the internal bundle of Dôm strip of the sub-branches amidst the folded Persea leaves, simple pinnate leaves 4-5 cms long of Olea europaea (Olive).

The identification of the Dôm, Persea, and olive leaves was made through the microscopical examination of cross sections of these leaves".

The coffin to the north is anthropoid, decorated with beautiful different colours (pl. XIX *b*). Under the bust is a vertical line of inscription in the middle; on one sides is seen Re with Duamutef and Qebhsenuf before him, and on the other side the same god with Imesty and Hapi. A scene of judgement is also seen on the coffin with prayers addressed to various divinities. The inscription in the middle contains an invocation prayer addressed, to « Osiris pre-eminent of the Westeners, the great god, lord of Abydos, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, master of *Shetayt*, that they may give provisions to Osiris mistress of the house, Irerw, daughter of Thai, the blessed through Osiris». On each side of the lid is a similar inscription, but one of these inscriptions describes the owner as ' chantress of Osiris', while the other refers to her as ' songress of Amenre' (2 in pl. XV). The

bottom of the coffin, as well as the cartonnage and the mummy inside, were found terribly deteriorated and so they were left until they can be repaired and strengthened.

This can be said of the coffin with the cartonnage and the mummy which was lying nearby. The coffin was found in pieces; it was originally made of small pieces of wood. Of the lid of the coffin, the face was found detached and some pieces missing. Representations of some divinities were found on the lid on the sides of a vertical line in the middle containing a similar prayer like that on the lid of the neighbouring coffin. But this prayer was made for the sake of ' the Osiris Zedherefonkh' (3 in pl. XV), who was most probably the husband of Irerw. If this is true, we can establish the relationship of the family as :

Thai = Neḥemes (?)
↓
Zedharefonkh = Irerw

The third burial proved to have been plundered. This was found in the middle of the Hall, near to the second column from north in the middle row. A shaft about 3 ms deep leads to two chambers, the one to the north had two sets of uninscribed canopic jars, hundreds of ushebtis and the lower part of an anthropoid coffin (pl. XX *a, b*). On this part, the owner is described as « prophet of Amûn in Karnak, Horsiese». Many fragments of the inner coffin of the same man were found half burnt in the *redim;* these show that he was the son of ' the prophet of Amûn in Karnak, Merkhonsu'. These parts proved to be inscribed, but these inscriptions were so fragmentary that we decided not to copy them here.

Conclusions.

We have mentioned above how we found the lower part of a statue, almost lifesize, of Kheruef. In the publication the tomb a detailed description of this statue and its inscriptions will be given. It may be stated here that the statue was found near a limestone pedestal fixed in the pavement of the Hall. This pedestal was found at about 2.50 ms to the north of

the gateway leading from the Court to the Back Hall (pl. XXI *a*). Quite probable there was a pedestal on the other side of this gateway, on which a statue in quartzite, fragments of which we found in the debris of the Hall, was standing.

The statue is inscribed on the front and on all the sides of the seat (pl. XXI *b*). On the front is a wish that Kheruef may be given offerings coming forth before Amûn in his Temple of *'Iun Sm'*, perhaps the Funeral Temple of Amenophis III [1]. On the front of the seat is an invocation to Osiris on one side and another to Amûn on the other side that the owner may be given special offerings on certain festivals mentioned on the front of the seat. There are also invocations on the sides of the seat; the left has one to Osiris, while the right one has another to Horakhti. On the back is an inscription of three columns speaking of Nut and the voyage in the underworld. On the sides of this text are two inscriptions, one giving an utterance of Neit, the other a speech of Selket, where they promise to stretch their arms before and behind in protection of Kheruef. Quite probably on the other statue we have similar utterance of Isis and Nephthys. Such utterances are usually found on sarcophagi, and we may ask ourselves whether the presence of such utterances on statues of Kheruef in this Hall may mean that his burial place was not faraway.

The newly-discovered statue gives us the name of the parents of Kheruef and their titles. In the tomb these were already mentioned, but the statue gives us a variant of the name of the father; in the tomb he is called « *Siqed* » [2], while on the statue he is referred to as « *Nebqed* ». The former is known for other people who lived in the XVIIIth Dynasty [3], when this man lived, but the latter seems to have been known later [4]. On our statue we find for the first time the full title of this man; he was : « the scribe of the army » and perhaps in the tomb, he was styled « (the

(1) Varille, « L'inscription dorsale du colosse méridionale de Memnon » in *Ann. du serv.*, XXXIII, 87 where he suggests the expression to stand for Thebes in general. The Temple refered to here was either the Funeral Temple of the king or Karnak itself.

(2) Fakhry, *op. cit.*, 503.

(3) Ranke, *Personennamen*, 279 : 18.

(4) *Ibid.*, 186 : 18.

scribe of the army) of the lord of the Two Lands » [1]. This title was not so important, but it was given sometimes to important persons. The mother is referred to as « the king's adornment, Rui » ; in the tomb she is given that title and is also described as being « the chantress of Isis ».

Of Kheruef we know the tomb, two if not three graffiti in Aswân [2], a statue coming from Bubastis and now in Cairo Museum [3], a second most probably coming from Hermopolis and now in Berlin Museum [4] and the newly discovered statue. All these seem to have been made when Kheruef became an important official, assuming the function of the great steward. But what he was before, who were the important members of his family, what were the great works with which he was charged and how did he end his career are all questions which are quite difficult to answer. It can only be said that he took a main part in the first and the third jubilees of the king, of which the scenes are shown in his tomb, and that he was charged with some works in Bubastis, Hermopolis and Aswân, where some of his monuments were found [5].

His tomb was left unfinished, most probably because of the ascension of Amenophis IV on the throne and the change of the religion and the capital soon after. On the lintel of the entrance of the tomb and on that of the passage leading from the court to the Back Hall we see Amenophis IV followed by Queen Teye adoring some divinities. But it is on the southern wall of the corridor at the entrance of the tomb that we meet some nice reliefs of particular importance. There we see Amenophis IV offering and adoring Horakhti, then the same king officiating before his parents. In both scenes the figure of the king is erased, while

(1) In the tomb, before *nb tawi*, there is a sitting man followed by the three strokes of the plural, but this should be taken as the figure of the soldier.

(2) De Morgan and others, *Cat. des mon. et inscr.*, I, 39 (170), 44(4).

(3) Naville, *Bubastis* 33, pl. XXXV.

(4) *Aeg. Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2, 39-41 (2293).

(5) Amenophis III left monuments in Bubastis, (see the present writer in *Tell Basta*, 105 ff), in Hermopolis where there were found two statues of baboons (discovered by Alexandria Mus., but not yet published) inscribed with the names of the king and in Elephantine where a temple of the king was erected, see Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, V, 227.

in the second one the upper parts of the parents and the text accompanying them is partly destroyed. Parts of the headdress of the king were found fallen down, showing that he was dressed with the *atef*-crown. It is thought that this represents the king as already dead [1]. It may be added that a part of the accompanying inscription was found fallen nearby; this bears the two cartouches of Amenophis IV facing those of his father. These latter were preceded by the words 'The good god, (beloved of) Sokaris...', and it may be asked whether the king was referred to here as beloved of Sokaris, because he was already dead (pl. XXII *a*).

When Kheruef was persecuted and his name and figures effaced is another problem. It is difficult to agree with Fakhry that he was so treated because he was against the new religion preached by the young king [2]. That the name of Amûn and other divinities were effaced in the tomb does not mean that the owner was persecuted; the name of the king of gods was effaced everywhere during the reign of Akhenaten, even in the name of the young king and that of his father. It may be due then to some other reason that Kheruef was persecuted. Helck says that stewards lost their positions and fell into disgrace because they were apt to be changed with the change of reign [3], such as happened with Senmut and Amenhotep (Tomb No. 73) of the reign of Hatshepsut and Amenemhēt called Surer of the time of Amenophis III [4]. But this cannot be taken as a general rule; the two former stewards were persecuted because they had supported vigourously their souvereign, while the last of these may have been treated in such a manner for some unknown reason. It may be stated that in the tomb of Kheruef, some of the figures of Amenophis IV and the hymns to the sun-god are erased. This erasure may have been done by people who came after that king and who tried to efface any trace of him. In such a case, they may have been also responsible for the erasure of the figures and name of Kheruef himself; probably he shared the fate of his sovereign.

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[1] Davies in *JEA*, IX, 135.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 453, 457.
[3] Säve-Söderbergh, following Helck, see *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 36.
[4] For the last two tombs, see *ibid.*, 1 ff. and 33 ff.

In the Ramesside and the Saitic Periods many a tomb was carved in or close to the tomb of Kheruef. In the plan of this tomb we have shown the plan of these tombs, as they are hardly known. We are giving here a list of the owners of these tombs and their titles:

Tomb No. 26 Khnumemheb.
Title: The overseer of the treasury of (the Funeral) Temple of Usermare setpenre in the Estate of Amûn.
Tomb No. 189 Nekhtdehut.
Title: Chief of the artificers of the Northern Lake of Amûn.
Tomb No. 190 Nespenebded.
Title: The One under the King.
Tomb No. 191 Wehebrenebpaht.
Title: Praised and beloved.
Tomb No. 193 Ptahemhab
Title: Great of the seals in the treasury of the Estate of Amûn.
Tomb No. 194 Dehutemhab
Title: Overseer of the peasants of the Estate of Amûn
Tomb No. 195 Baknamen
Title: Scribe of the treasury of the Estate of Amûn.
Tomb No. 196 Pedeharresent
Title: Great steward of the god's wife and god's adorer
Tomb No. 364 Amenemhab
Title: Scribe of the divine offerings of all the gods of Thebes.
Hitherto unknown tombs:
Tomb No. 406 Piay
Title: Scribe of the treasury of the Estate of Amûn
Tomb No. 407 Bentenduanuter; title: *ỉmy ḫnt* of the god's adorer [1].

All these tombs are carved in or close to the Court; thus showing that it was open during the Ramesside and Saitic Periods. No tomb was carved in the Back Hall, though tomb No. 407 was entered through a hole, made perhaps by tomb-robbers, in its southern side. As we have noted,

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[1] For these tombs, see the forthcoming second edition of the *Topographical Bibliography*, I.

this Hall was used for secondary burials. It is very difficult to assign an exact date to these burials. But judging by the decoration of the coffins and the cartonnage discovered, we may date them to the XXIst Dynasty and later. From that same period may be dated some graffiti found on the eastern wall of this Hall. Near a large figure is an inscription of two horizontal lines reading : «The scribe, Khaemope, son (?) of the draughtsman, Ashakhet, the deceased» (pl. XXII *b*). It is noteworthy that the father of this man left a graffito in the tomb [1]. Near the graffito of Khaemope are some others. One mentions «The draughtsman in the House of Amûn...», a second «The *wekil*, Khaeminet, the deceased», a third «The servant, Neferhotep, the deceased», while the fourth mentions «The scribe of Monthu, lord of *Iun Šmˁ*, Min, the deceased».

Thus in the Bubastite period and later, perhaps down to the Saitic period, this Hall was used as burial place for some important persons, being mostly priests of Amûn and Monthu. Fakhry says that in the Ptolemaic Period the part with the ceremonies of the Erection of the *dd*-Pillar was perhaps open when these same ceremonies were once again celebrated [2]. This is quite probable since there was found a sun-dried brick wall dividing this part from the rest of the tomb.

Since then, the tomb has been buried. It was only in the last seventy years that some parts of it were entered, and since then the necessity for completing its clearance was felt. It is hoped that that work is to be continued next year, until the complete clearance of the tomb especially in view of the encouraging results of this year's work.

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[1] Fakhry, *op. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*

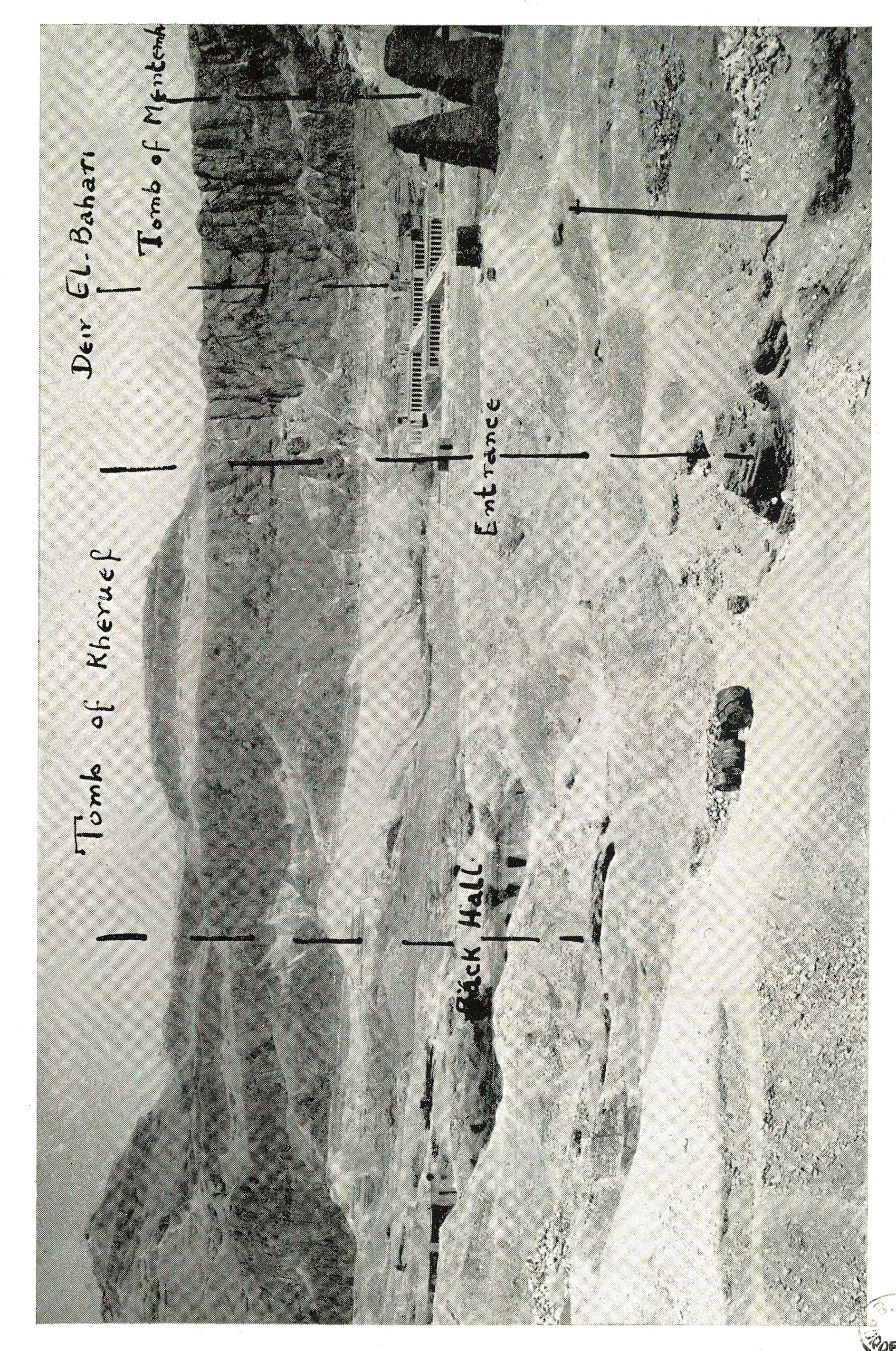
PLATES

Sketch Plan of the

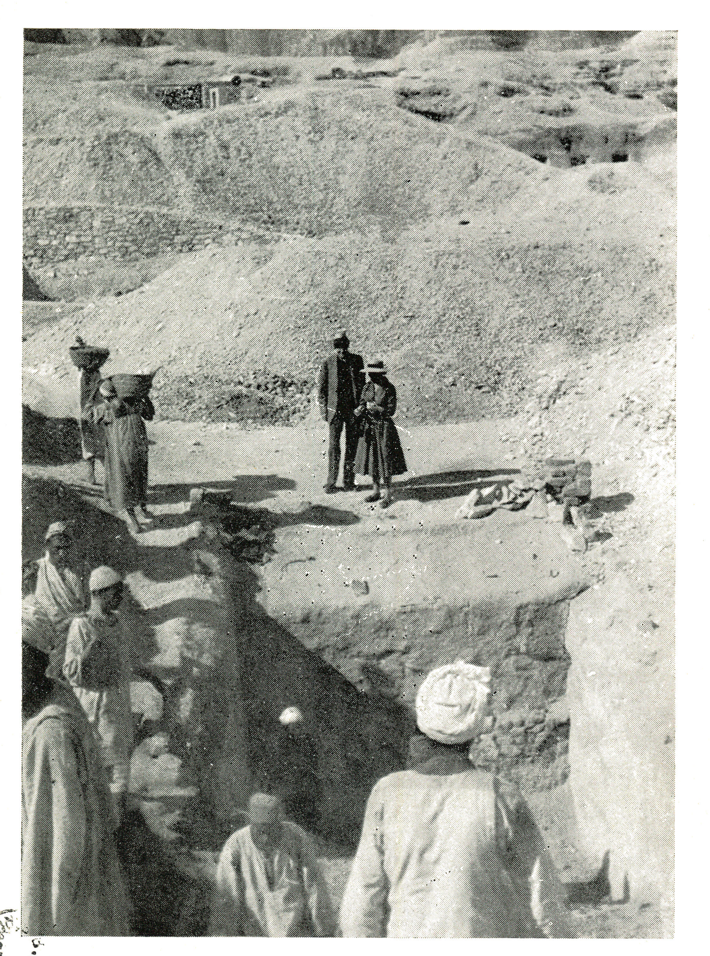
TOMB OF KHERUEF

April 15. 1958

DRAWING OFFICE ORIENTAL INST.
LUXOR EGYPT.



Site of the Tomb.



a.—Entrance during work.



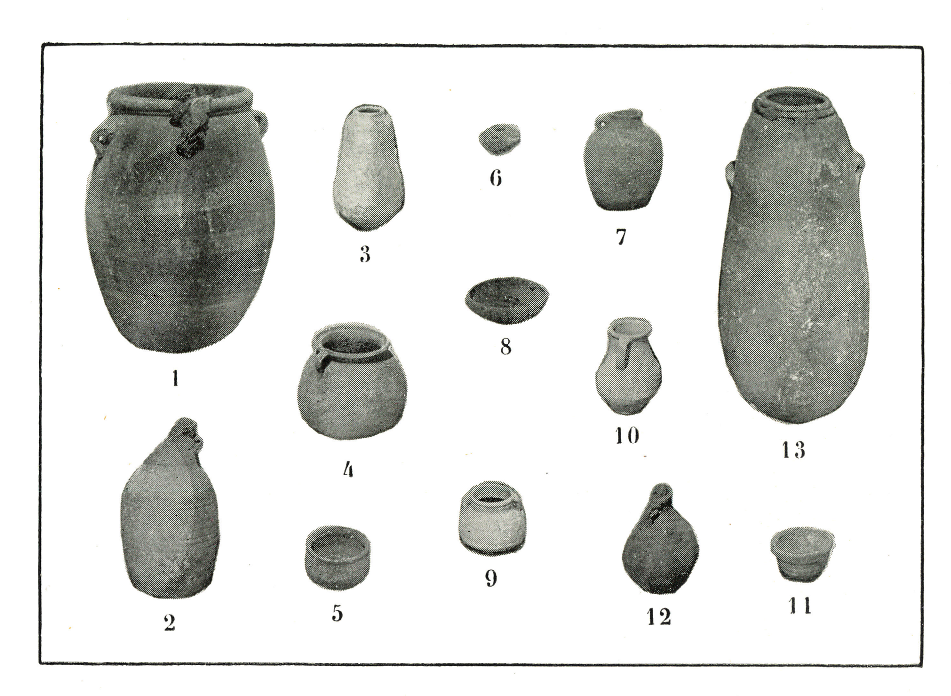
b.—Entrance cleared.



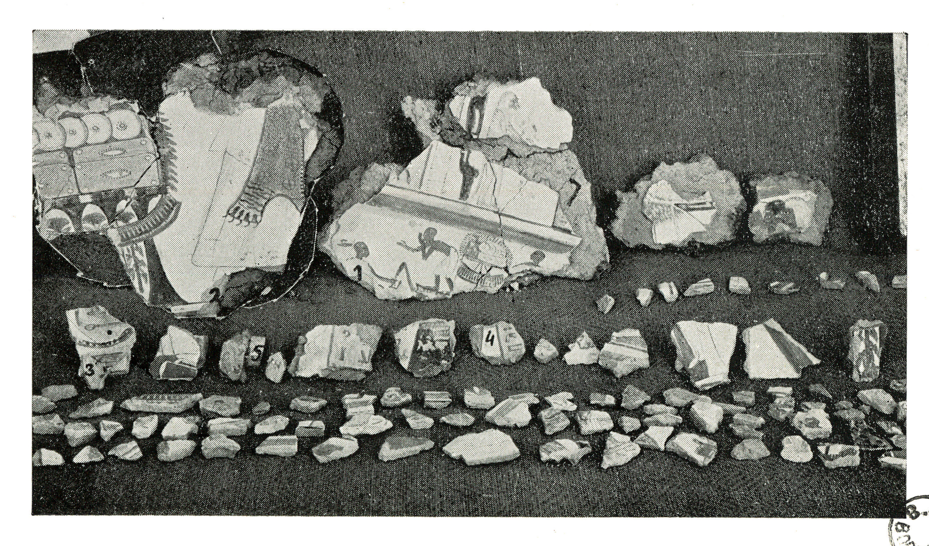
a.—Clearance of Back Hall.



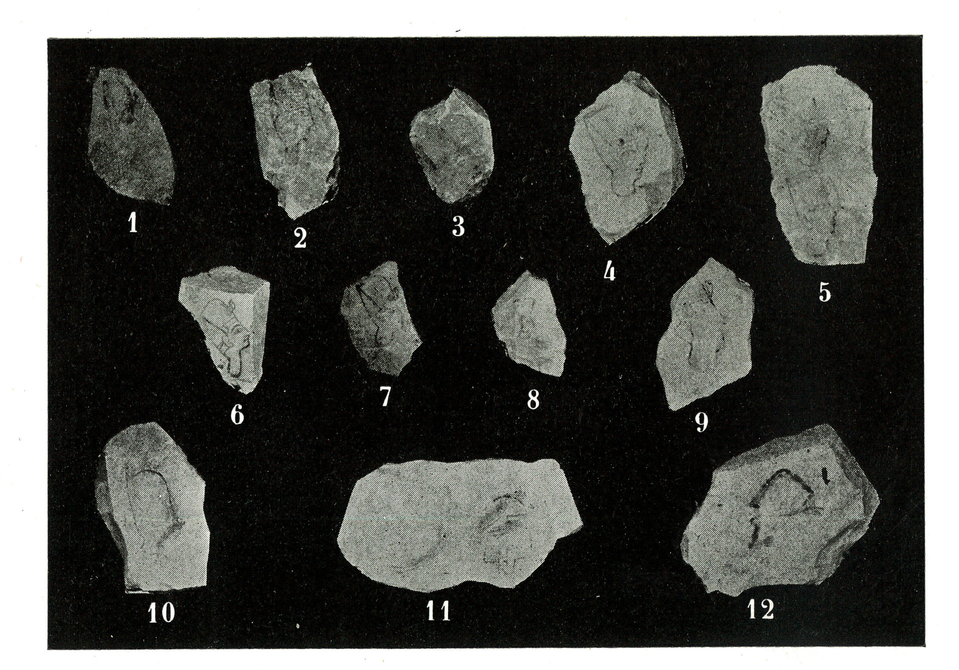
b.—Back Hall partly cleared.



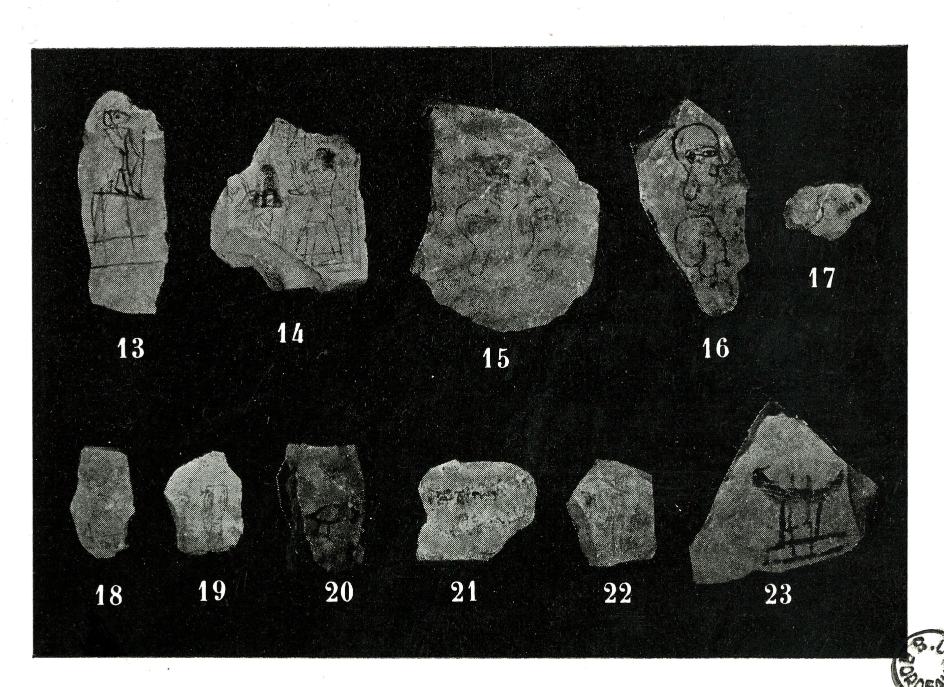
a.—Pots and bowls.



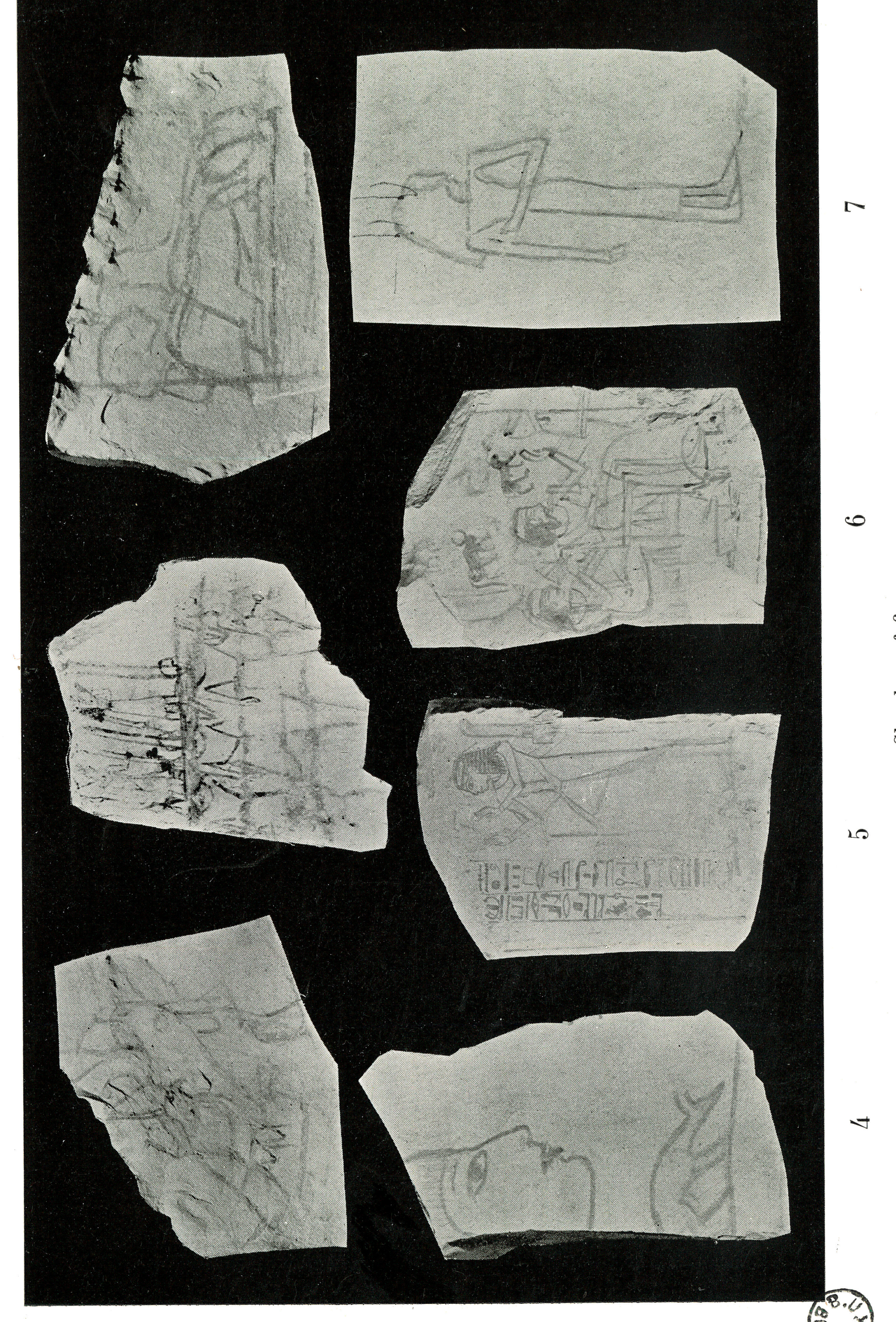
b.—Parts of tomb wall.



a.—Sketches of kings' heads.



b.—Sketches of figures.

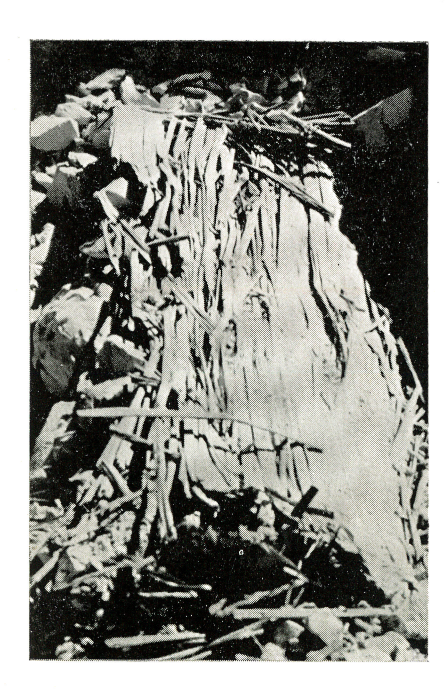


1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Sketches of figures.



a.—Burial in *redim*.



b.—Burial in *redim* with mat above.



c.—Same burial after removal of mat,

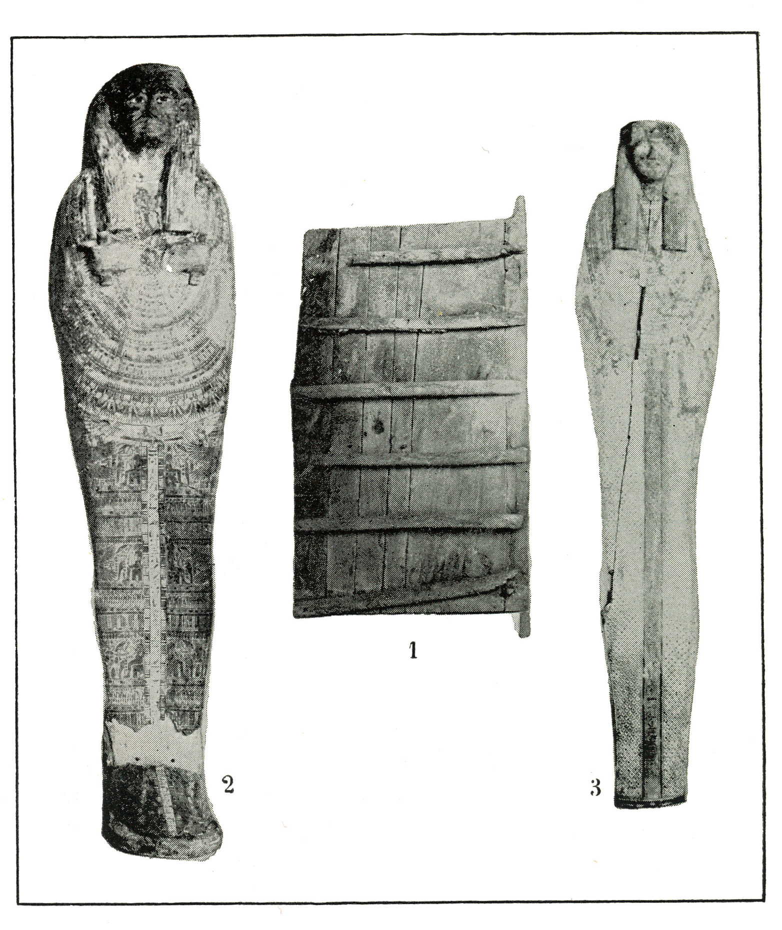


Objects found in *redim*.

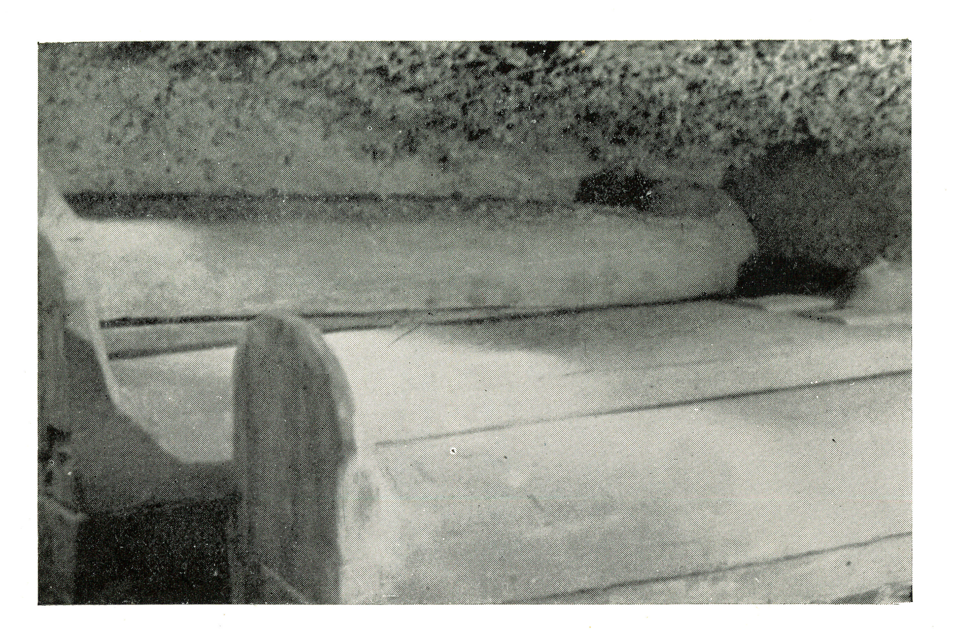
Pl. X



a.—Entrance of tomb with six burials.



b.—Door and coffins at entrance.



a.—Group of coffins at western side of burial chamber.



b.—Group at eastern side.

1

2

3

4

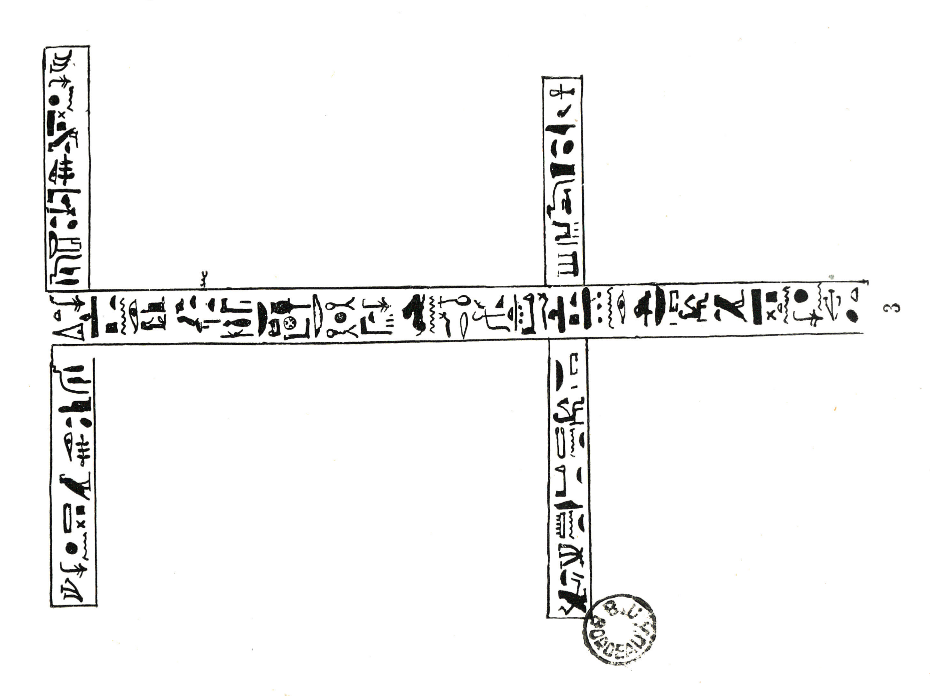
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6

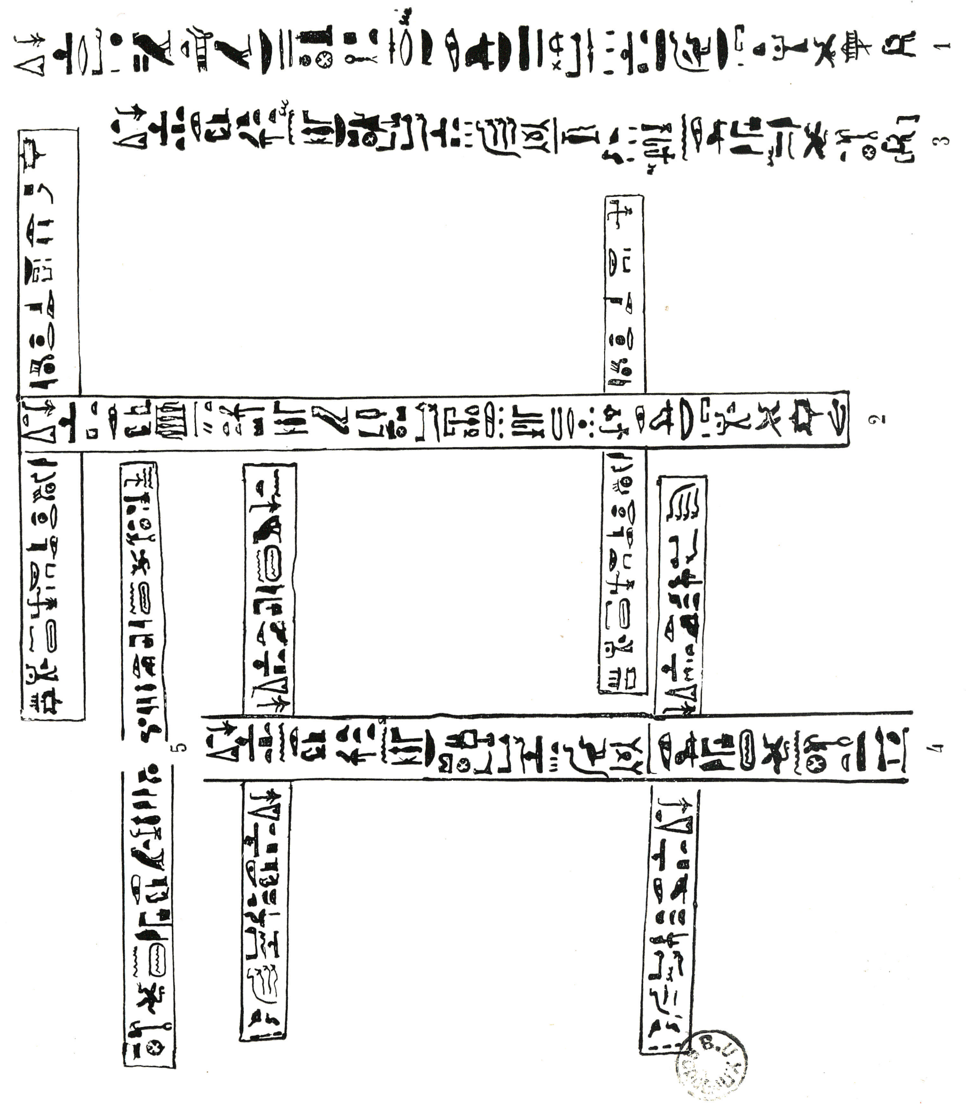
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8

Inscriptions.



Inscriptions.



Inscriptions.

Inscriptions.

1

2

3

4

5

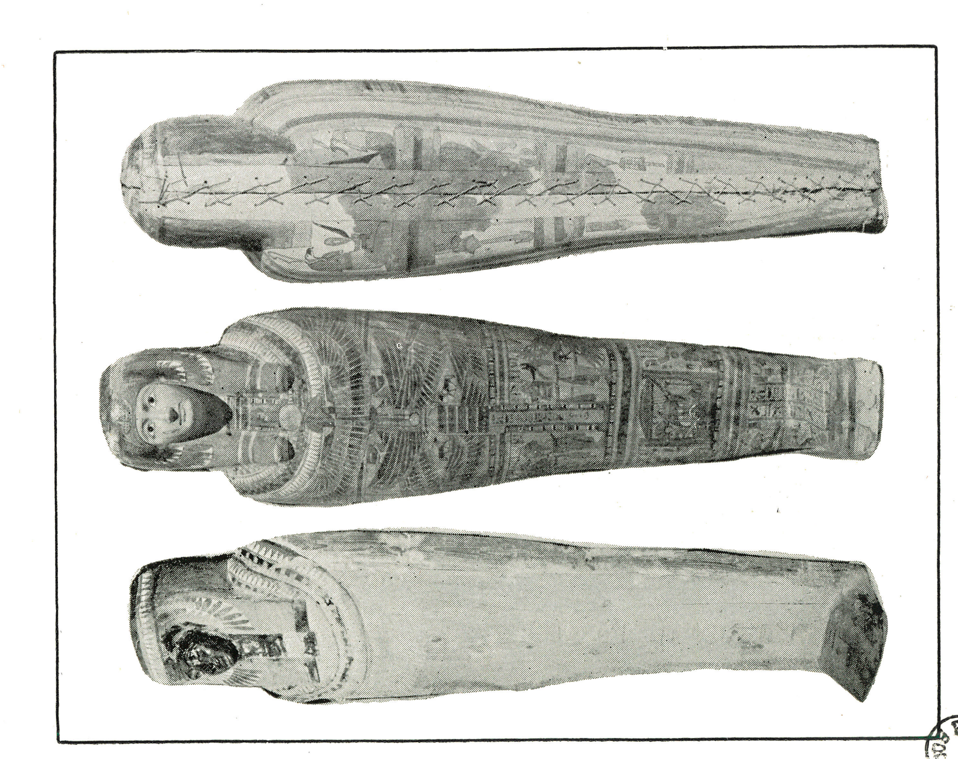


a.—Coffins and cartonnage of Shepenkhonsu.

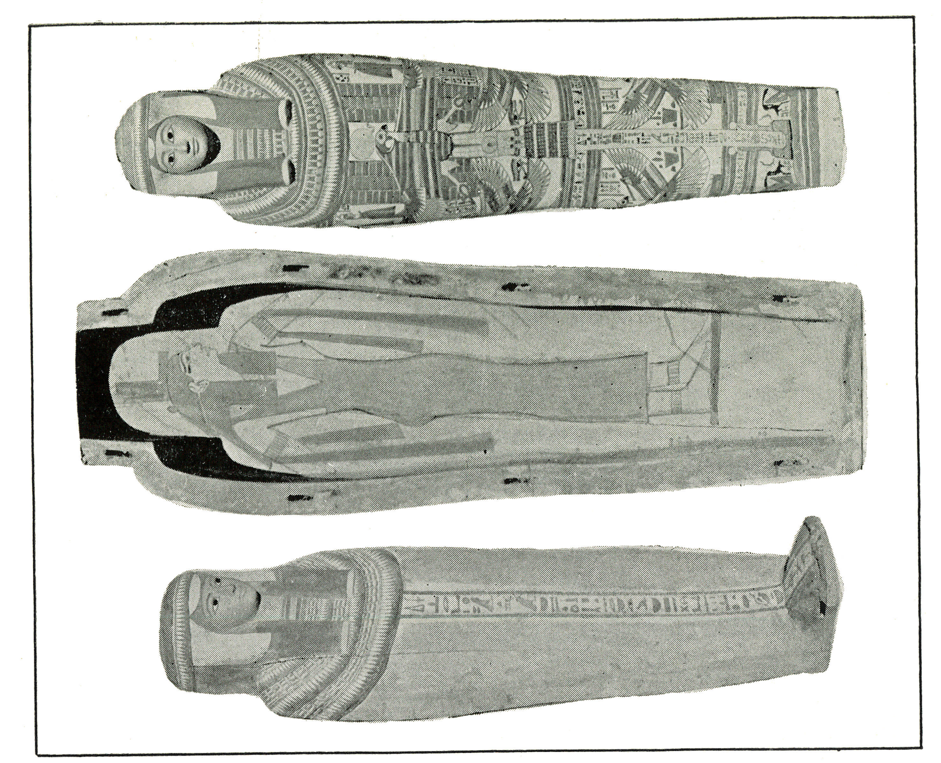


b.—Coffin and cartonnage of Thaenwast.

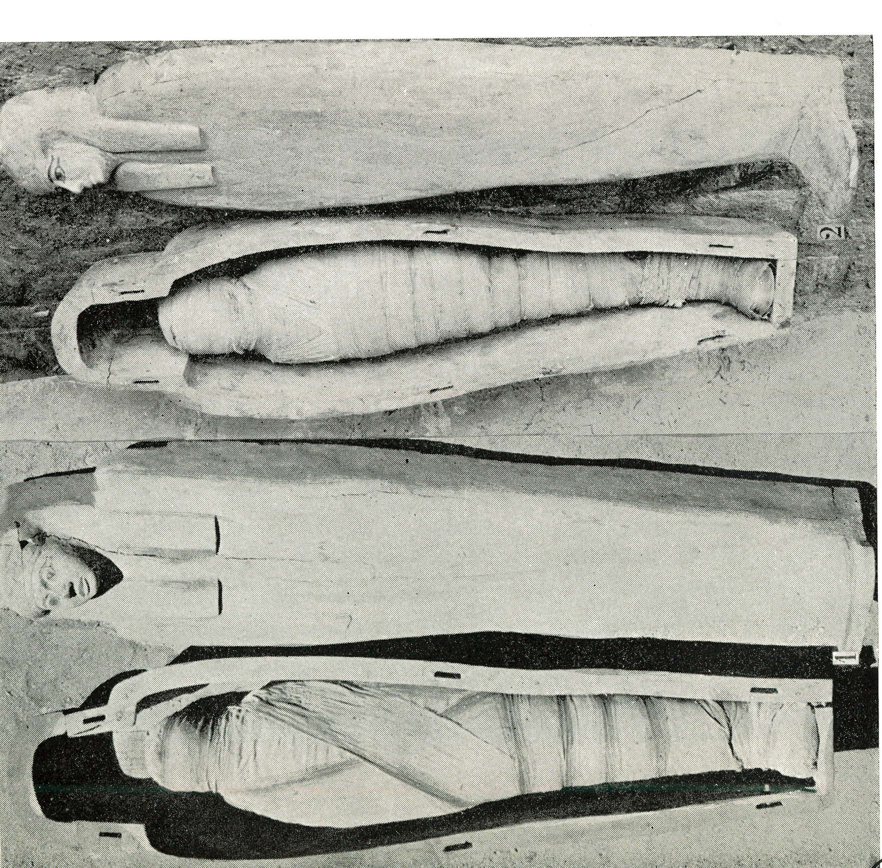
b.—Mummy of Tashebt.



a.—Coffin and cartonnage of Tashebt.



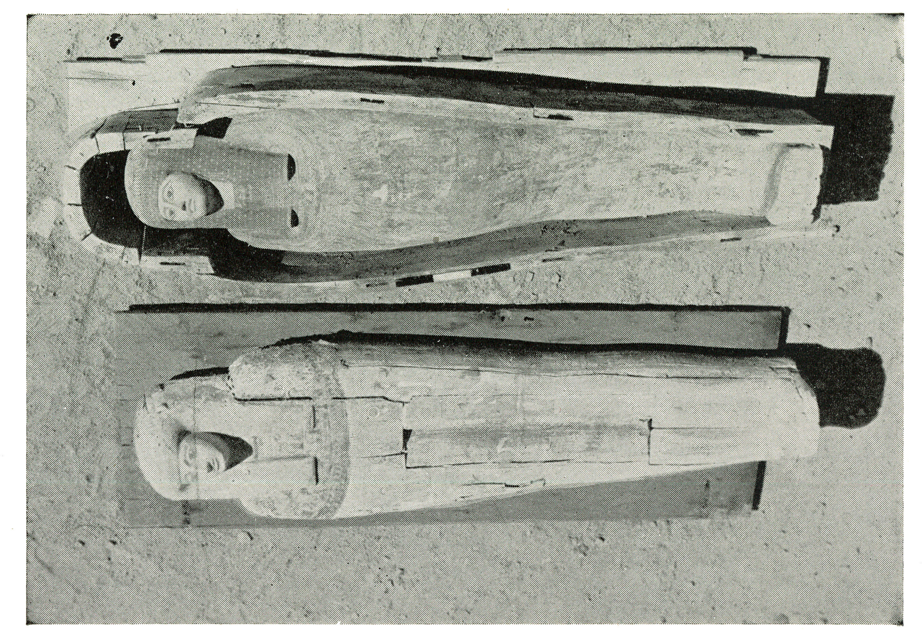
b.—Coffin and cartonnage of Kapathau.



a.—Coffins and mummies of two unknown persons.



a.—Coffins of Zedherefonkh and wife with garlands.



b.—Coffin and cartonnage of Irerw.



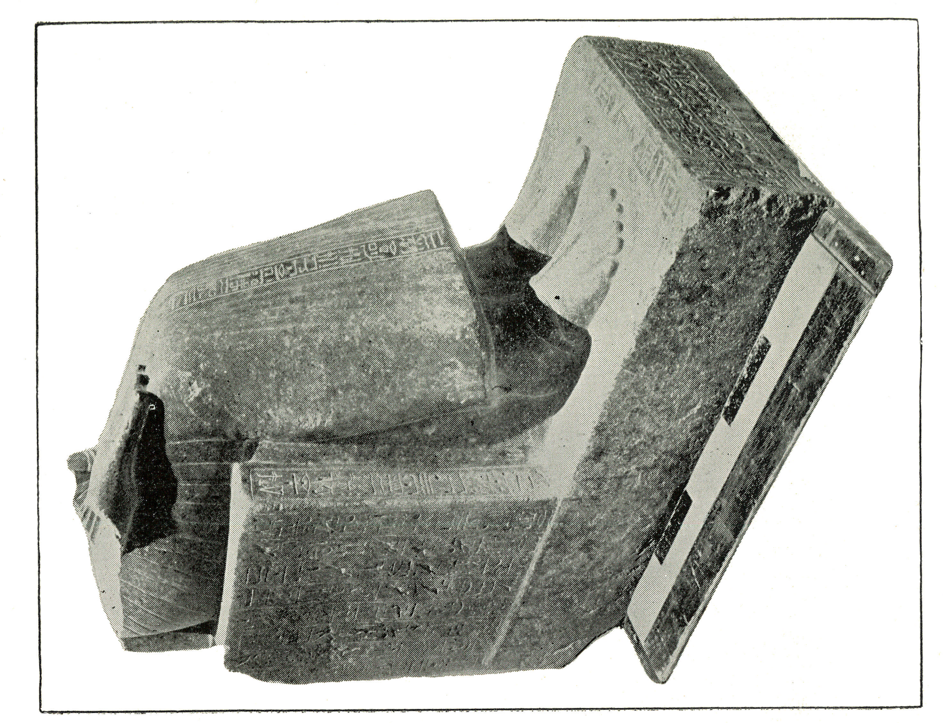
a.—Set of canopic jars in tomb of Horsiese.



b.—Another set of canopic jars in the same tomb.



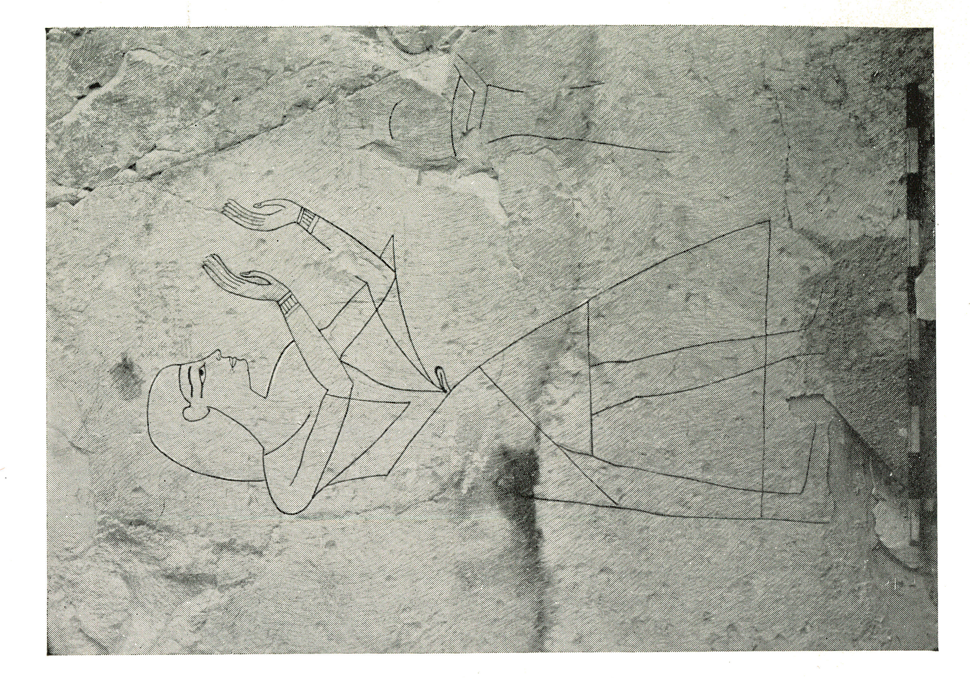
a.—Kheruef statue in tomb.



b.—Kheruef statue (side view).



a.—Amenophis IV (erased) offering to parents.



b.—Graffito in Back Hall.

LES PREMIÈRES FOUILLES DU KÔM TROUGAH (1945)

PAR

MOHAMMAD HASAN ABD-UR-RAHMAN

En 1945, le Service des Antiquités décida de fouiller la partie Sud du Kôm Trougah (Markaz Abu-el-Matamir, Béhéra), où l'on voyait seulement une voûte constituée de blocs de calcaire et sur laquelle subsistaient les restes d'une construction en briques (fig. 1).



Photo : M. Henri Wild.

Fig. 1.

Les travaux dont la direction me fut confiée durèrent du 26 au 29 septembre 1945; ils furent repris, un mois après, du 24 au 28 octobre. J'établis sur-le-champ un rapport que je remis à M. Abd-ul-Hadi Hamada, ex-chef de l'Inspectorat du Service des Antiquités, qui

continua, avec l'aide de M. Chafik Farid, les travaux que j'avais entrepris au Kôm Trougah. La publication d'ensemble qui avait été prévue n'était pas prête en mai 1957 lorsque M. Abd-ul-Hadi Hamada mourut. En se fondant sur les résultats des campagnes postérieures, M. Abd el-Mohsen el-Khachab avait publié en 1956 un article sur les *Hammams du Kôm Trougah* [1]; pour compléter cette étude et en éclaircir certains points qui pourraient paraître obscurs, j'ai jugé utile de ne plus attendre pour faire connaître les premiers résultats fournis par les fouilles du Kôm Trougah en 1945.

* * *

Après avoir enlevé des déblais sur une hauteur moyenne de 1 m. 50, j'ai rencontré les murs d'une vaste construction (pl. I), les uns en briques, les autres en pierre calcaire, s'élevant tous à 50 cm. environ au-dessus du sol de l'édifice. Celui-ci comprenait huit pièces, une grande salle (pl. I, 4), un puits (pl. I, 8), trois bassins (l'un circulaire et les deux autres rectangulaires) et des latrines (pl. I, 1). Au centre de l'édifice se trouvait une ouverture à peu près carrée, 2 m. × 2 m., et d'une profondeur de 2 m. également. Au fond, il y avait trois petites ouvertures voûtées qui conduisaient sous le sol des chambres et une quatrième donnant sur une sorte de couloir voûté en pierre calcaire et dans laquelle j'ai découvert les vestiges, malheureusement vite réduits en poussière, d'une sépulture et une petite tête en marbre d'une statue féminine (Aphrodite ?).

Dans la grande salle (pl. I, 4), un tuyau en plomb, en partie fixé au sol, communiquait avec un bassin (pl. I, 2) muni de trois marches et mesurant 2 m. 75 × 1 m. 50. Un autre tuyau mettait en liaison le bassin avec l'égout des latrines (pl. I, 1). J'ai nettoyé cet égout d'une profondeur de 0 m. 75 et je l'ai trouvé recouvert d'une couche de ciment jusqu'à l'extérieur Sud de l'édifice.

Sous le sol de la grande chambre Nord-Ouest (pl. II), j'ai mis au jour les traces de 22 petits piliers. Le mur Ouest de cette salle présentait les caractéristiques suivantes : près de l'angle Nord-Ouest, petite niche

[1] *Annales du Service*..., t. LIV, p. 117-139, pl. I-XIII et plans I et II.

de 0 m. 40 de haut et dont la base se trouve à un mètre du sol de la salle (pl. II, 1); au centre, grande niche semi-circulaire abritant un socle carré en marbre de 0 m. 60 de hauteur (pl. II, 2) [1]; non loin de l'angle Sud-Ouest et au Sud de la grande niche, une sorte de paravent en briques accolé au mur, de 0 m. 20 d'épaisseur (pl. II, 3) [2].

* * *

Tous les objets mis au jour au cours des premières fouilles du Kôm Trougah datent des époques grecque et romaine. La liste suivante comprend les pièces les plus intéressantes :

1. Une tête de statue féminine (Aphrodite ?), en marbre, qui penche légèrement vers la droite (pl. III et IV). Hauteur totale : 0 m. 175; hauteur de la tête : 0 m. 098. Les cheveux partagés par une raie qui part du milieu du front, tombent sur les tempes en tresses ondulées, cachant l'oreille droite et le haut de l'oreille gauche; cette dernière est placée anormalement bas. Les lèvres fermées ont une courbe délicate. L'épaisseur de la lèvre inférieure accentue et relève les commissures. Le front a un pli horizontal; le cou, allongé, en a deux formant ce qu'on appelle le « collier de Vénus ». Le sommet de la tête est plat et rejoint obliquement la nuque qui est restée grossièrement sculptée. Le bout du nez est cassé. Par son style, cette tête rappelle l'école de Praxitèle, mais la sculpture date probablement de l'époque romaine (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87288).

[1] M. El-Khachab (*op. cit.*, p. 129) suppose que ce socle devait porter une statuette d'Aphrodite. Il ne peut s'agir de la statuette d'Aphrodite (?) dont j'ai retrouvé la tête (cf. pl. IV et V), qui, selon le canon de Polyclète (7 fois la hauteur de la tête) devait avoir 0 m, 686 de haut ou 0 m, 784, selon le canon de Lysippe ou de Praxitèle (8 fois la tête). Je crois plutôt que c'est la grande statue d'un haut personnage (2 m de hauteur), trouvée par M. M. Hamada et Chafik Farid en nettoyant le puits (pl. 1, 8) à côté de cette chambre et conservée actuellement au Musée d'Alexandrie (n° provisoire 10456), qui devait se dresser sur ce socle.

[2] Ce paravent ne cachait pas la statue de la niche voisine; il la protégeait très probablement de la radiation de l'air chaud qui passait par la cheminée ménagée à l'intérieur du mur Sud de la salle. Pour la radiation de l'air chaud, cf. El-Khachab, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. Deux rondelles découvertes sur le sol de la grande salle (pl. I, 4)[1]. L'une (pl. VI, *b*) est en mosaïque comportant 50 pierres par centimètre carré (Diam. : 0 m. 415). On y voit un coq, deux pigeons(?) et divers motifs floraux. Cette rondelle, vraiment remarquable, est constituée de pierres polychromes de très petites dimensions; les oiseaux sont pris sur le vif et pleins de vie (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87295).

La seconde rondelle (Fig. 2) est faite de morceaux de marbre coloré (Diam. : 0 m. 28); son décor est géométrique (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87296).

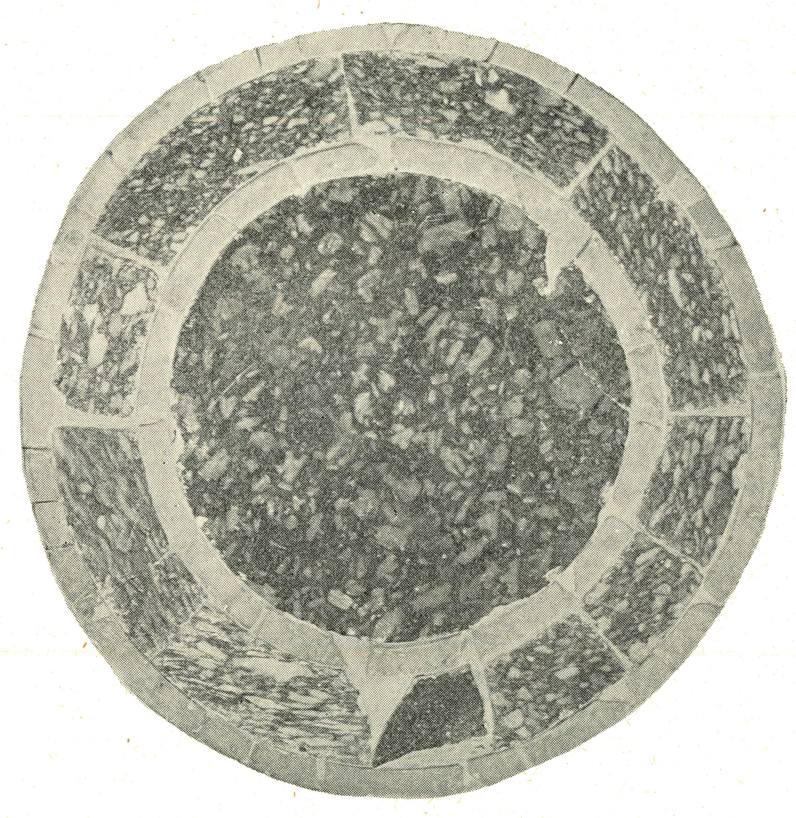


Photo : Moḥammad El-Mansoury.

Fig. 2.

[1] C'est par erreur que M. El-Khachab (*op. cit.*, p. 118, note 1 et p. 119, fig. 1) indique qu'une troisième mosaïque a été trouvée au Kôm Trougah en même temps et au même endroit que les deux rondelles. Cette mosaïque, représentant une tête de Méduse, est actuellement au Musée du Caire (*J. E.* 67913); elle est enregistrée sans aucune indication de provenance et a été donnée au Musée par le roi Fouad Ier, dix ans environ avant les premières fouilles sur le site du Kôm Trougah.

3. Un petit autel cylindrique en marbre (pl. VI, *a*); il est orné d'une guirlande en relief (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87289).

4. Objet de toilette ou instrument médical; il s'agit d'une tige en bronze dont une extrémité est pointue et l'autre forme cuillère (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87290).

5. Trois monnaies : la première, en bronze, est d'époque ptolémaïque (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87292); la seconde est datée de l'an 17 d'Hadrien (Musée du Caire, *J. E.* 87293); la troisième, également en bronze, datée du règne d'Antonin, est du nome Ménélaïte : on y voit Harpocrate dont le corps se termine en queue de crocodile; devant le dieu, un autel.

* * *

M. El-Khachab[1], à la suite de MM. Daressy[2], de Cosson[3] et Guéraud[4], a tenté de retracer l'histoire du Kôm Trougah. Cette histoire peut se résumer ainsi : l'ancienne ville ptolémaïque de Psénemphaia (ψενεμφαία), devenue Thérôgé ou Thérangé, puis Kôm Trougah, aux époques copte et arabe, appartenait au 7e nome de Basse-Egypte, le nome Métélaïte. Cette ville était située au bord du lac Maréotis, au débouché d'un canal qui joignait le lac à la branche canopique du Nil. Si elle se trouvait sur la grande route fluviale qui menait d'Alexandrie vers Héliopolis-Memphis, elle commandait aussi les routes qui desservaient les régions à l'Ouest du Delta et le Ouadi Natroun. C'était donc une ville particulièrement florissante; elle l'était encore à l'époque arabe : Moez la traversa en 696 lorsque son armée marchait sur Fostat; le sultan Baïbars y fit trois séjours successifs, en 1262,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 117-118.

[2] *Annales du Service...*, XVI, p. 237; *Revue de l'Egypte ancienne*, II, p. 25-26.

[3] *Mareotis*, p. 79.

[4] *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, n° 32, vol. X, 1939, p. 21-40.

1263 et 1264, en allant des couvents du Ouadi Natroun à Alexandrie. Mais l'assèchement du lac Maréotis, entre les XIIe et XIXe siècles, ruina progressivement une cité autrefois prospère [1].

Moḥammad Hasan Abd-ur-Rahman.

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[1] Les fouilles subséquentes indiquent, semble-t-il, que mes travaux de 1945 n'ont mis au jour que la partie supérieure des Hammams du Kôm Trougah. La stèle n° 24025 du Musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, étudiée par M. Guéraud, *op. cit.,* fut trouvée au Kôm Trougah dans le voisinage du site que j'ai fouillé. Peut-on supposer que les Hammams du Kôm Trougah dépendaient du Cléopatreion d'Aristion (Κλεοπάτρειον Ἀρισ7ίωνος)? Cette stèle mentionne un prêtre, un certain Apollonios, fils de Théon, qui, à ses propres frais et en peu de temps, reconstruisit le Cléopatreion vers l'an 25 d'Auguste (5 av. J.-C.); il le fit, d'autre part, luxueusement crépir et y installa plusieurs lits de repos. La grande statue, trouvée dans le puits par M. M. Hamada et Chafik Farid, serait-elle celle de cet Apollonios dont nous savons qu'il était particulièrement respecté par tous les propriétaires fonciers de Psénemphaïa?



Photo Ahmad Abd-ul-Moneim Yousof.

Vue générale.



Photo Ahmed Abd-ul-Moneim Yousof.

Le mur Ouest de la grande chambre Nord-Ouest.

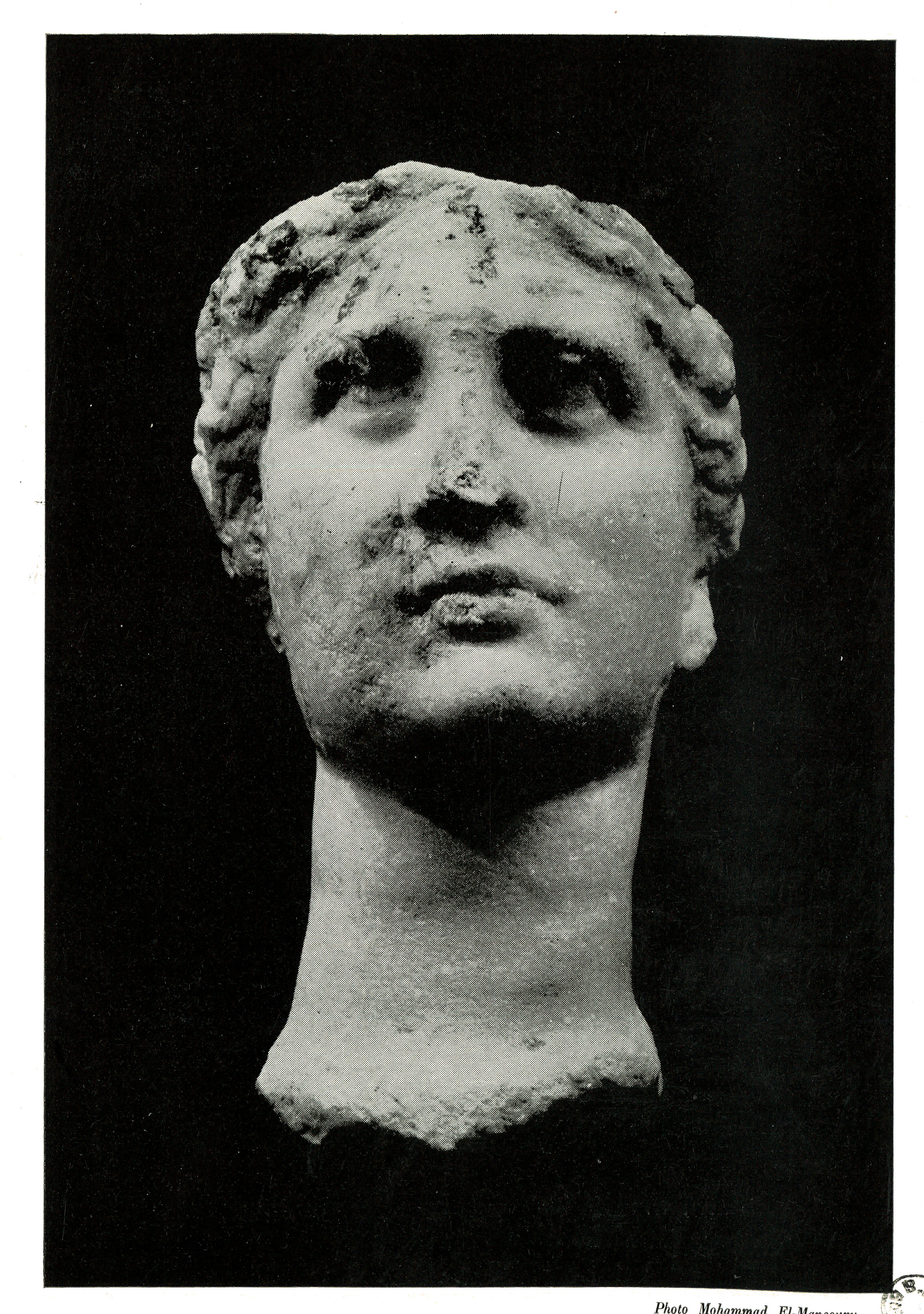


Photo Moḥammad El-Mansoury.

La tête d'une statue féminine (Aphrodite?).



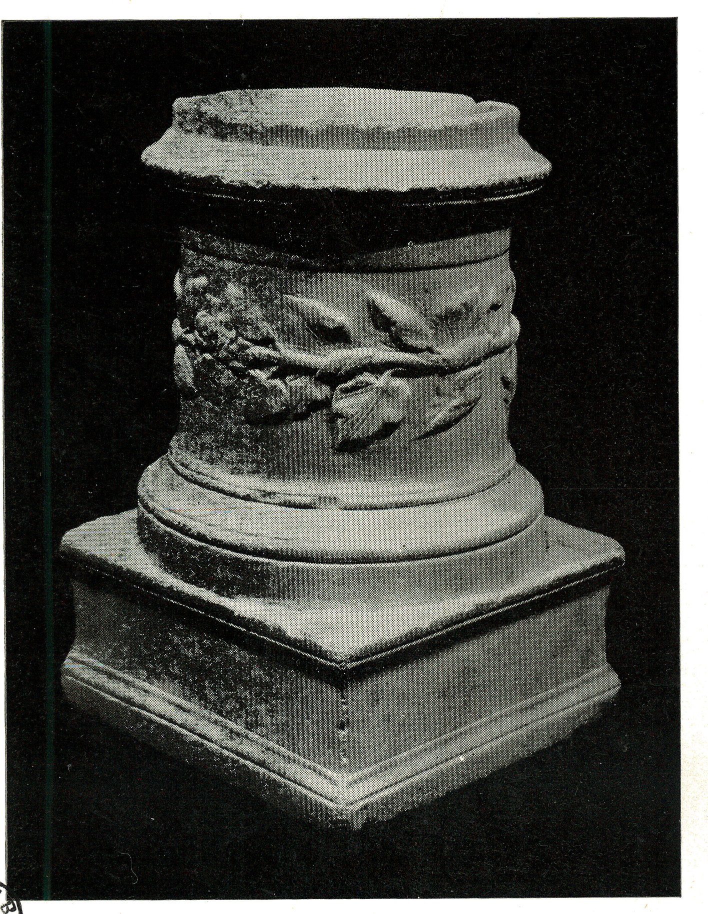
Photo Moḥammad El-Mansoury.

Profil de la tête.



Photo Ahmad Abd-ul-Moneim Yousof.

Les deux rondelles sur le sol de la grande salle.



a.—Petit autel.



Photo Mohammad El-Mansoury.

b.—Rondelle en mosaïque.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE. — Tome LV, fasc. 2

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